

MEMOIRS
FOR THE
HISTORY
OF
Madame de MAINTENON,
AND OF THE
LAST AGE.

Bonam facile crederes, magnam libenter.

TAC.

Translated from the FRENCH,
BY THE
Author of the FEMALE QUIXOTE.

VOL. V.

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MEMOIRS

HISTORY



OF THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

AND

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OF THE

BRITISH MUSEUM



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MEMOIRS

FOR THE

HISTORY

OF

Madame de *Maintenon*,

AND OF THE

LAST AGE.



BOOK FOURTEENTH.

CHAPTER II.

The duke of Anjou, king of Spain.



HE regency dispatched a courier immediately to France with the articles of the will which related to the succession, and two days afterwards another courier was sent with the will entire, and very respectful letters, in which the

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speedy

speedy departure of the duke of Anjou from France was earnestly requested. The marquis de Castil dos Rios, ambassador from Spain to France, had a private audience of the king, who said only these few words in answer to him, *monseigneur ambassadeur, I will consider of it.* 'I should never have imagined,' said the ambassador, when he came out of the king's closet, 'that to an offer of two and twenty kingdoms, I should have been answered only with, *I will consider of it.*'

The princes, the ministers, and some of the principal lords, were convened. The king proposed to them the most important question that ever was under deliberation; was the king of Spain's will to be accepted, or was the partition treaty to be adhered to? Lewis gave full liberty to the suffrages; but no one was ignorant how much the king was charmed with the glory of having a king more in his family.

The dauphin declared for accepting the will, adding that his highest ambition was to be able to say, during his whole life, *the king my father, and the king my son*: specious words; but suggested rather by indolence than indifference for dominion.

This

This great question shewed what a council composed of courtiers is capable of doing. All seemed solicitous for the aggrandizement of the royal family, not one was attentive to the welfare of France; for the duke of Burgundy and the duke de Beauvillieres protested, that they voted against accepting the will, only to have the whole matter made plain to them: however, reason was on their side.

By accepting the will, France must necessarily be engaged in a war, which would unite all Europe against her. By adhering to the partition treaty, she would be strengthened with the assistance of two powers, till then the most strenuous opposers of her grandeur; and if Europe was not willing that France and the two Sicilies should be under the dominion of one sovereign, peace might be secured, by giving Naples to the duke of Anjou: that effusion of human blood, which princes make so little account of, would have been spared; but, by yielding to the cruel suggestions of ambition, Europe was forced to fight for her liberty.

Madame de Maintenon was consulted; she answered, 'If it be true what our ministers say, that by accepting the will we

‘ shall secure the peace of Europe, I think
‘ we ought not to hesitate.’

Those who voted for accepting the will flattered themselves, that when France and Spain were united no power would venture to attack them; as if it was not probable that the emperor would enforce the renunciations of the queens, and England and Holland the partition treaties; so freely entered into, so justly conceived, and so ambitiously violated.

The king, after well weighing the different opinions, neglected the most useful, and followed the most ambitious; however he concealed his resolution, till he had caused the governors of the Low-Countries to be sounded, who made protestations of fidelity; and the pensionary of Holland, who confined himself to compliments only.

The king had a long conversation in private with the duke of Anjou, who, suppressing his joy, answered calmly to those who endeavoured to penetrate into this important secret, ‘ After the honour the king of
‘ Spain has done me, by appointing me
‘ for his successor, his memory will be
‘ ever dear to me.’

The

The court with impatience expected the unravelling of this great affair; the people with inquietude: of what importance is it to France, said some, whether a Bourbon or a Hapsbourg be king of Spain? what is France the better, said others, for the acquisition of a few provinces; the king will be richer, but will our poverty be less? The grandeur of the prince is always the humiliation of the people. They were indeed weary of fighting for quarrels wholly indifferent to the state; they foresaw that the country was going to be sacrificed to the dignity of the royal family, whose true glory it is to sacrifice that chimerical dignity to the happiness of the country.

In the mean time the king wrote the following letter to the Spanish regency. Nov. 12.

‘ The marquis de Castel dos Rius has
‘ delivered to us the clauses of the will,
‘ containing the order and rank of the
‘ heirs called to the succession of the Spanish
‘ monarchy, and the wise regulations
‘ for the government of the kingdom, till
‘ the majority and arrival of the successor.
‘ Our grief for the loss of a prince, whose
‘ amiable qualities and relation to us made
‘ his friendship so highly valued by us,
‘ re-

‘ receives a great increase from the affecting proofs which at his death he has given us of his regard to justice, his love for his faithful subjects, and his solicitude to maintain even beyond his life the general peace of Christendom.

‘ That we may make suitable returns to the unlimited confidence he has reposed in us, we will exactly conform to his last will, and use all our endeavours to restore, by an inviolable peace, the Spanish monarchy to its ancient splendour. We accept the will of the deceased catholick king, in favour of our grandson the duke of Anjou: the dauphin our only son accepts it also. He readily abandons the just claims of the deceased queen his mother, acknowledged incontestible by many different ministers of state, and is so far from being desirous to reserve to himself any part of the Spanish monarchy, that he cheerfully sacrifices his own interest to the duke of Anjou, whom the testament of the deceased king, and the common voice of the people, call to the throne.

‘ We will hasten our grandson’s departure for his dominions, that we may as soon as possible give such faithful subjects the satisfaction of receiving a king;
firmly

‘ firmly persuaded that it is his first and
‘ chief duty, to associate justice and reli-
‘ gion with him in his reign, to make the
‘ happiness of his people his only care, to
‘ know and to reward merit, and to em-
‘ ploy it in his councils, in his armies, and
‘ in the different offices of his church and
‘ state. We will endeavour to teach him
‘ what he owes to his own glory, and
‘ still more what he owes to a nation a-
‘ like brave and wise, and always faithful
‘ to its sovereigns. We will exhort him to
‘ remember his birth, and whose son he
‘ is, but chiefly of what nation he is the
‘ king.

‘ He will continue to love his country ;
‘ but that love will only inspire him with
‘ the desire of maintaining a good intelli-
‘ gence, so necessary for the common se-
‘ curity and repose of our subjects and
‘ his.

‘ This peace has ever been the chief
‘ object of our wishes and our prayers ;
‘ and if the misfortunes of the times have
‘ not permitted us to resign ourselves
‘ wholly to these sentiments, we are per-
‘ suaded that this great event will make
‘ such an alteration in the state of things,
‘ that every day will afford us a new op-
‘ portunity of witnessing to all the uni-

‘verse, our esteem and affection for the whole Spanish nation.’

The precipitation with which this will was accepted, made it evident that the king knew the purport of it before it was sent to France. Is it probable that Belcourt was not informed of it? This minister was in high esteem with his king; would he have preserved his confidence, if he had not been capable of penetrating into a secret of such importance?

The duke of Orleans, before whom the archduke and the duke of Savoy was preferred, believed this exclusion of him had been suggested to cardinal Portocarrero, by the French ambassador at Madrid, entered a protestation against it, being persuaded that Europe would have more willingly seen the grandson of Lewis the Thirteenth upon the throne of Spain, than the grandson of Lewis the Fourteenth.

The king received letters every day from the Spanish regency, pressing the speedy departure of the duke of Anjou. The queen signed these letters with seeming satisfaction, and dispatched couriers into all the provinces, to secure the governors in her interest, if the will should be refused.

The

The préſident of Caſtile declared neither for France nor Auſtria, expecting the orders of his ſuperiors, or rather the will of fortune. Cardinal Portocarrero abſented himſelf from the council, under pretence of indiſpoſition, that he might have it in his power to excuſe himſelf to the new king, whoever he might be.

Lewis ſent the marquis d'Harcourt into Spain, whom he created a duke, and commiſſioned to concert with the regency, the manner in which the new king ſhould be received. No one but the marquis de Caſtel dos Rius, certainly knew the king's intention; and the ſecret was ſo carefully kept, that the foreign miniſters at the courts of France and Madrid, wrote to their reſpective ſovereigns, that the will would not be accepted. Hence proceeded the aſtoniſhment of all Europe when it was.

At length the court returned from Fontainebleau. The king fixed upon a Tueſday for making known his reſolution, a day when it was uſual for all the ambaffadors to appear at Verſailles.

At half an hour after nine o'clock in the morning, the king ſent for the Spa-
Nov. 16.

nish ambassador into his closet, and said to him, *the hour is now come for making a king.* He afterwards sent for the duke of Anjou, who was in the inner closet with the princes his brothers. ‘My son,’ said Lewis to him, ‘it is God only who makes you a king; endeavour to confirm his reign in every place where you are going to command; and you, monsieur ambassador, salute your king.’ 7

The ambassador, instantly bending upon one knee, kissed the duke of Anjou’s hand, and made him a long compliment in Spanish. The king said, ‘he does not yet understand Spanish; I must therefore answer for him. If he follows my councils, you will be a great lord, and that very soon; in the mean time, he cannot do better than follow yours.’

The dukes of Burgundy and Berry now approached, and throwing themselves on the neck of their brother, with tears expressed their joy for his elevation, and their grief at being soon obliged to part with him. It was then that the duke of Anjou said to the duke of Burgundy, ‘I am king of Spain, you will be king of France, but poor Berry has nothing.’ ‘And I,’ replied the duke of Berry, ‘will be prince of Orange, and make you both mad.’

The

The duke of Burgundy desired the king would permit him to accompany his brother to the Spanish frontiers. ‘Yes, my son,’ replied the king with a tender emotion, ‘and the duke of Berry also; I am delighted to find that you love one another so tenderly.’

At ten o’clock the closet door was opened, and the courtiers entered in crowds: a profound silence succeeded. The eyes of all present were fixed upon Lewis, who, taking the duke of Anjou’s hand, said, with the majesty of the master of the world,

‘Gentlemen, Behold the king of Spain! his birth has made him so, the deceased king has appointed him, the nation demands him, and I consent to it. And you my lord,’ added he, addressing himself to the duke of Anjou, ‘be a good Spaniard; that is now your first duty, but never forget that you are born a Frenchman; endeavour to preserve the union between the two crowns, that Spain and France, happy in each other’s friendship, may confirm for ever the tranquility of Europe.’

The ambassadors heard these words with a respectful fear; they foresaw that a king

so solemnly made, could not be attacked without danger; they examined the countenance of the count de Zinzendorf the emperor's minister, whom a scene so mortifying and so unexpected, had not disconcerted: he neither betrayed a dissembled joy, nor sadness artfully suppressed. The evening before he had demanded an audience with great eagerness; he had it then, and wholly master of his looks and temper, he received the most extravagant compliments, upon the birth of a son to the king of the Romans, to which he answered, as if they had not been suspected.

The next day he received orders from his master, to insist that the will was forged: this was allowing it to be lawful, if authentick. In consequence of new orders, he mentioned the renunciation of the Pyrenian treaty, as if the danger of uniting the two crowns was not more to be dreaded by Austria than by France. At length he was ordered to shew great satisfaction at the will's being accepted, and to give out, that the maritime powers would no longer offer the Bourbons, what was allowed them by the partition treaty, but would hinder them from possessing the monarchy. These various resolutions taken by the council of Vienna,

suffi-

sufficiently proved that Austria had neither any claims to this succession, nor forces to support those she pretended to have.

The new king, naturally serious, spoke very little, examined his several kingdoms upon the map, and learned with great rapidity, the language of the country he was going to govern. ‘He will soon be able to speak your language,’ said the king to the marquis de Castel dos Rius. ‘Ah! fire,’ replied the ambassador, ‘the Spaniards must now learn to speak French.’ ‘My grandson,’ resumed the king, ‘has already the gravity of a Spaniard.’ ‘I am charmed to see it,’ replied the marquis, ‘and that he preserves, notwithstanding, all the politeness of the French.’

This nobleman had always ardently wished, that a son of France might be his master. It was with this hope, that he had supported the embassy at his own expence; and it was to his dispatches, that cardinal de Portocarrero owed the vigour of his proceedings. When he saw that his vows were accomplished, he thus expressed himself in a letter to the cardinal; ‘*At length there are no more Pyreneans.*’

Ever present to himself, he applauded, with seeming transport, all the happy sayings.

sayings with which chance or memory furnished his king. The answer of the prince to the harangues of the corporations of the kingdom, were just and elegant. 'Monsieur,' said he to the president of the academy, 'I have always had an esteem for your society; it is remarkable for its wit, and you do not disgrace it.'

The young king had frequent conferences in private with his grandfather, who gave him useful lessons upon government, and charmed with his good sense, and the rectitude of his mind, 'My son,' said he, embracing him tenderly, 'you and I shall suffer a great deal from our being so particularly known.'

The duke of Rochefoucault telling the young king that he could not hunt in Spain, because the dogs there lose their scent through the intense heat of the climate, 'Yes, the dogs of France,' answered Philip, 'but I will have dogs from Africa, and they shall be the first tribute I will impose upon the king of Morocco.' One of the courtiers asking which was the king's place in the army, 'Where the fight is the hottest,' said the young king of Spain. An old lord alleging that a king, who had no children, ought

ought to keep in the second line, or in the corps de reserve, 'Is his having no children,' said Philip, 'a reason for dishonouring himself?'

When the news came to Brussels that the will was accepted, the elector of Bavaria expressed great joy for it, quitted his mourning, caused *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches, and, by the most magnificent shews and entertainments, celebrated a day which became so fatal to him. When his son died, he complained of the star of Austria, always malignant to those who oppose her aggrandisement; and these suspicions were neither confirmed nor removed. He immediately sent the marquis de Bedmar to France, to assure the catholic king of his obedience.

The prince of Chimai, the duke d'Avrai, and many other Flemish lords, desired leave to attend the marquis de Bedmar to France. All the cities acknowledged the new king. The city of Antwerp offered him a statue; the Flemish lords were invited to Marli, where it was not usual to admit any foreigner. 'You see me here,' said Lewis to the marquis de Bedmar, 'divested of all grandeur.' 'Sire,' replied the marquis, 'it is very difficult to perceive it.' The Flemings
ad-

admired the wit and judgment of their king, the graceful condescension of the king of France, and the beauty of the dutchess of Burgundy.

In Spain all offices and employments, except those of the crown, become vacant when the king dies; and when that happens, there is always new patents made out: a custom certainly very inconsistent with the principles of monarchy.

The elector of Bavaria had entertained hopes, that he would be continued in the government of the Low Countries; and it was promised him. The natives of Messini, who had taken refuge in France, solicited for a pardon; but the king of Spain, desirous of consulting the regency before he did any thing in the affair, contented himself with saying, that he would remember those who had first acknowledged him for king. The marquis de Bedmar, who commanded the troops of Flanders, was a long time questioned concerning the condition of the fortresses there. He said that they were full of Dutchmen. 'You may assure the Elector of Bavaria,' said Lewis to the ambassador, 'that, upon the arrival of the first courier from him, I will send him what number of troops he shall demand; and I engage my
'royal

* royal word, to withdraw them that very
* moment that their assistance is become
* unnecessary.' Lewis neglected nothing
which could reassure his allies, and disarm
his enemies; his expressions were full of
kindness, and his actions of moderation.

The prince of Vaudemont, governor of
the Milanese, declared in his letters, that
when he was informed of the king of
Spain's will in favour of the duke of An-
jou, he had begun to breathe again, but
when he knew that France had accepted
of it, his joy was unbounded; he assured
the catholick king of his adherence, and
of the submission of the people whom he
governed.

The partisans of the house of Austria
at length abandoned a court, which was
so far from promising any reward for their
fidelity, that it had not even foreseen that
fidelity would be shaken. When the
prince of Darmstadt viceroy of Catalonia,
received the dispatches from the council of
regency, he convened his council, swore
he would pay the most exact obedience to
the will, and acknowledge the king that
was there appointed. He never doubted
but that this king was the archduke; he
opened the packet, he read the deed of
settlement aloud; when the name of the
duke

duke of Anjou struck his eyes, the paper fell from his hand; all who were present cried out, Long live the duke of Anjou king of Spain: the Austrian was obliged to join his acclamations with theirs.

The bishop of Gironne was bold enough to make some opposition, but no body listened to him. The ambassadors of Savoy and Venice, the pope's nuncio, the ministers of the Italian princes, emulously acknowledged the new king. England and Holland kept a profound silence, more astonished at this event than eager to traverse it.

Dec. 24. At length the day appointed for the king of Spain's departure arrived. The dukes de Noailles and de Beauvilliers, were named to attend the princes in their journey. The king would conduct the king of Spain as far as Sceaux, a house which the duke du Maine had lately purchased from madame de Louvois. The king gave his grandson the right hand in his coach. Finding the road between Versailles and Sceaux crouded with people, 'You see,' said the king to his children, 'how much we are beloved;' and to the king of Spain he said, 'This joy is sincere; as long as you remember that you are a Frenchman, you will always find the Frenchmen Spaniards.'

Their

Their parting was very tender and affecting. The two kings burst into tears when they embraced; the dauphin, supporting himself against the wall, concealed his tears; the dutchess of Burgundy hid her face in her hood. The affecting silence, in the midst of this croud of princes and of noblemen, added to the satisfaction of the people, who were charmed to see that their masters were men. ‘Why all these tears?’ said the marquis Castel dos Rius, ‘can you not see each other when you will?’

The dukes of Burgundy and Berry attended the king of Spain to the frontiers: as they passed they every where saw great joy amongst the people, and were affected with their extreme poverty. When Philip entered into his own dominions, he gave many marks of his humanity. He forbid the combats of the bulls, under pretence of its being Lent; he refused to be entertained with a diversion, in which some of the meanest of the people were to hazard their lives: ‘God forbid,’ said he, ‘that my amusement should be fatal to any one.’

He banished his nurse, because she received presents; he subjected himself to the ceremonial

ceremonial of the palace, which in Spain makes a kind of puppet of the sovereign; but at his country palaces he lived with all the ease and freedom of the French. He had instructions from his grandfather, which would have made Spain happy, if his understanding had been equal to his good intentions. These writings passed through the hands of the duke de Noailles, who made a present of them to the king's library.

CHAPTER III.

War declared. The first campaigns.

ALL Europe had now entered into a confederacy to depress the power of Lewis the Fourteenth, yet many able politicians asserted, that by accepting the will, the harmony which would for the future subsist between the two crowns of France and Spain, was more advantageous to the former, than a partition treaty, by which she acquired new dominions in Italy, that to preserve, had occasioned all the misfortunes of Lewis the Twelfth and Francis the First, would weaken her forces by sea, and divide those by land.

Lewis

Lewis had made no preparations for war; he had neither secured allies, nor given satisfaction to his neighbours. The protestant princes of the empire were enraged at his obstinacy, in establishing the mass in the country of Montbelliard. The duke of Lorraine could not forgive him, for obliging him to submit to the humiliating ceremony of vassalage: and the Venetians resented the attempt made upon their liberty, by claiming for the French banditti an exemption, which a king, who had been guilty of assassination out of his own dominions, could not have claimed for himself.

If France singly was not able to make war with advantage, she might have easily formed alliances: but her ministers were as unskilled in the business of negociation, as incapable of acting with vigour in case of a war; she never had more occasion for able statesmen, and she never had worse. The man who was at the head of the army and the finances, was totally ignorant of both. The minister for the marine had never seen a vessel, and the secretary for foreign affairs had never been out of Paris; they had but little capacity, no reputation, and were wholly regardless of their country's good.

Leo-

Leopold, although the oppressor of his people; and the conqueror of Servia and Transilvania, had escaped the charge of ambition. William had been so mistaken in his opinion of this emperor, that, in the year 1689, he had promised him the crown of Spain; but when he reflected, that this Leopold had usurped prerogatives upon the empire, he thought him strong enough to engage with Lewis alone, and seemed resolved to remain neuter, till the necessity of preserving a balance, would oblige him to arm against the most powerful. The council of France might have taken advantage of the first steps made by William and the Dutch in their favour. William had complimented the duke of Anjou on his accession to the crown of Spain, as being the lawful heir; and the Dutch had openly acknowledged him. They prepared for war, but it was the emperor only who desired it: England and the States-General ardently wished for peace. Lewis might have disunited them, by feigning to submit the claims of both the possessor and the competitor to the arbitration of William, who was ambitious of acting the part of the defender of the liberties of Europe; and by giving or promising the Dutch, such security as should remove all their apprehensions.

But

But the council, instead of entering into these views, which would have preserved the rights of the king of Spain, without lessening the glory of the king of France, resumed its former haughtiness, without being able to support it. They suffered the emperor to strengthen himself with new friends; they neglected or irritated the maritime powers; they sent Tesse to the duke of Mantua; they allowed the republic of Venice to preserve a neutrality, which was of worse consequence than an open rupture: they supposed the duke of Savoy would continue firm to the interests of his sons-in-law; therefore they offered him money and a treaty of marriage, instead of promising to enlarge his territories, by some part of Lombardy, which the emperor had secretly offered him. They wrote very polite letters to the prince of Vaudemont, to engage him to serve under the duke of Savoy, and others full of severity and haughtiness to the diet of the empire, which it was dangerous to affront.

At length they took possession of all the fortresses in the Low Countries. Two and twenty Dutch battalions, who guarded them, were driven out, without making any resistance. They were able and perhaps ought

ought to have stopped them, but they were apprehensive they should be accused of having first begun acts of hostility : although in such nice and critical moments, he is not the aggressor who first attacks, but he that would have attacked if he could.

This caution in the Dutch, and the extreme delicacy of Lewis the Fourteenth, made it evident that neither Holland nor France were desirous of a war ; they were in the same situation that we see two kings in at present : war is projected by both, each is unwilling to engage it in, and neither dare declare it.

Mean time the emperor passed an army of thirty thousand men into Italy, commanded by prince Eugene, whither Lewis had sent one before, under the conduct of Catinat, the last pupil of Turenne and Conde. Prince Eugene entered Italy by the side of Trent, and the French could not prevent him from passing the Adige. Catinat, who had orders not to attack the prince first, contented himself with barring his passage to Mantua and Milan. Saint Fremont and Tessé were defeated at Carpi.

Catinat receiving every day new checks, suspected the duke of Savoy of being in intelligence

telligence with prince Eugene; and one day in the council of war he said aloud, 'We have a traitor among us.' He acquainted the court with his uneasiness; the facts upon which he founded his suspicions gave them weight. The dutchess of Burgundy, enraged that her father should be accused of perfidiously betraying his allies, engaged the count de Tessé to justify him. Chamillard advised the king to recal the accuser, who had no friend to support him at court, because he had merit.

Marshal Villeroi, the king's favourite, and hitherto only known by the errors he committed in war, and by those amiable qualities which make a man beloved in peace, was bold enough to succeed Catinat in his command: he had rivals for this post, but his interest prevailed, and he set out for the army to begin the misfortunes of France.

He found prince Eugene intrenched at ^{Sept. 1.} Chiari, very strong in infantry, and supported by his whole army. ^{1701.} Catinat, who had not yet quitted his camp, declared against attacking the prince, alledging, that the attempt might possibly be dangerous, and its success most certainly useless. Villeroi hesitated; however he was

forced into this measure by the duke of Savoy, who exerted his power as generalissimo of the army.

The French, since there was no remedy, went to the slaughter with a good grace : our two generals fought like men in despair ; the duke of Savoy endeavoured by his courage, and even rashness in the battle, to wipe off the reproach of treachery ; he had a horse killed under him, and several shots went through his cloaths. His intrepidity deceived neither the public nor the king ; it was not thought impossible for the same man to be brave in the field and treacherous in the cabinet, to betray his allies through self-interest, and despise death through vain-glory ; in a word, to deliver himself to all the ardor of his courage, and to hope that he might make his breach of faith be excused by the enemy who profited by it, and respected by the friend who was a victim to it.

The king was so fully persuaded that his troops had been sacrificed to the emperor, that he sent orders to his own, and the Spanish ambassador at Savoy, to break off the marriage which was then negotiating between Philip V. and the princess of Savoy ; but those orders came too late, the marriage was already concluded.

At

At the news of this defeat William and the Dutch, who only waited to be determined by the first events, formed the grand alliance with the emperor. The Dutch were secretly inclined to a neutrality, but Lewis offered them only his sacred word for a barrier, a weak security for merchants, who still remembered the fatal effects of their former credulity.

They alarmed the king of Portugal, by persuading him that France had promised his kingdom to Spain, as a recompence for the Low Countries, which Lewis was to keep to indemnify himself for the expences of the war. The king had not even thought of this exchange, and all Europe supposed it was determined.

The object of the grand alliance was not to dethrone Philip V. but to give the emperor that satisfaction which was not secured to him by the treaties. The contracting powers were to act in Europe for the common cause, and in the Indies for themselves; the archduke was to have Naples and Milan; the Spanish Netherlands was to be given to the Dutch, to serve as a barrier against the invasions of France, and no separate peace was to be made.

The treaty by which afterwards the whole succession was promised to an Austrian prince, endangered the liberties of Europe more than the testament which gave the monarchy to a son of France. The king of England was doubtless sensible of this, but he hoped that some future event would make it easy for him to disengage his word, and that at the congress of Ryswick all the advantage of victory might be his own.

Sept. 16 Mean time king James was seized with a dangerous illness. On his death-bed he said to his son, ' However glorious a crown ' may be, it comes at a time when it is ' very indifferent to me. Revere your ' mother, love the king of France as your ' benefactor, and prefer your religion to ' all human grandeur.'

The Stuarts have faithfully observed his last advice, and it is their religion still which excludes them from the throne. By what strange fatality is it that protestant princes have always changed their religion whenever their interest required it, while catholic princes have always continued firm and unshaken in theirs !

Lewis went to St. Germain's to visit the dying prince; and, without being influenced

enced by the intreaties of the queen, or the solicitations of madame de Maintenon, he assured him that he might die in peace with regard to the prince of Wales, for that he would acknowledge him king of England. He gave consolations to the father, and instructions to the son, who committed them to paper upon the spot, that he might, as he told his governor, read them every day, and fix them for ever in his memory*.

King James expired on a Wednesday, at three o'clock. It was one of his weaknesses to wish to die on this day. He had desired to be interred in the parish of St. Germain with great privacy; he also requested that he might have no mausoleum, and no other epitaph than these words: *Here lies James II. King of England.* He was a bad prince, but a good man. He lost his crown, and he performed miracles: his relicks cured the bishop of Autun of a fistula. The devotees invoked as a saint a king who had the inhuman Jefferies for a chancellor.

The prince of Wales was acknowledged king of England. The author of the age of Lewis XIV. makes this the prin-

* Dangeau's MSS.

cipal cause of the war, and attributes it to the king's being moved by the ardent supplications of the queen of England, who threw herself at his feet *, and, in compliance with the desires of madame de Maintenon, who felt too sensibly the misfortunes of her friend. But 'tis certain that Lewis did not hesitate a moment ; and that without any sollicitation he acknowledged the prince of Wales, through generosity, through pity, or, perhaps, because his pride was soothed with having it in his power to make a king. He did not acknowledge the prince of Wales till the sixteenth of September, and the treaty of the grand alliance was signed the seventh of the same month.

It is indeed true that the parliament of England had not ratified it ; but William was so sure of the nation's consent to this war, that, when he was told that Lewis XIV. had sent six millions of money to corrupt the members of both houses of parliament ; ' So much the better,' said he, ' he shall have war, and we will have his money.'

The author asserts that the members of parliament were gained over to the French

* See the libel he has written against me, under the title of a Supplement to the age of Lewis XIV.

interest,

interest, and had not the king imprudently acknowledged the son of James II. England would have remained neuter. William had already awakened in the hearts of his subjects their antient hatred to the French, and that powerful phrase, the liberty of Europe, was heard on every side. If the concession of the royal prerogatives made to an exiled prince had been the principal grievance complained of by England, she would have been appeased and satisfied by the declaration Lewis made, that no article in the treaty of Ryswick should be violated by his having acknowledged the son of king James. The prince of Wales had only a bare title; he was king but in the same sense that the king of England is king of France, and the English were willing enough to let him reign in the antichamber at Versailles: *istâ se jactet in aulâ.*

CHAPTER IV.

Causes of the misfortunes of France.

WILLIAM soon followed his father-in-law; he caused Fagon the king's physician to be consulted upon his disease. Fagon, without suspecting who the person

was that had desired his opinion of his case, told his messenger, that the patient had nothing to do but to prepare for death. When Lewis received the news of it he said not one word to the courtiers, and gave no indications of joy; he thought he had got rid of his most cruel enemy, and he lost one of the most moderate.

He might have broke the league after the death of the prince who was the soul of it, by engaging the Dutch in his interest, who, having lost their counsel and their support, were sunk in extreme dejection; but whether he despised his enemies, or that he thought a moderation which would be attributed to his fears would debase his dignity, he neither entered into any negotiation, or commenced hostilities. The almost useless alliance of the elector of Bavaria was preferred to that of the United Provinces, who now hoped for a barrier only from their courage and their money.

After treating a free people with indifference, he treated a nation of sovereigns with haughtiness and insult; he threatened the states of the empire with sending an army into the dominions of those princes who declared against him, which should put every thing to sword and fire. The Germans recalled to their remembrance
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the cruelties exercised in the provinces of the Upper Rhine, and thought the surest way to prevent new ones was to revenge the old. The menaces of Lewis did more than all the intreaties of the emperor Leopold; they united the circles against France, which till then had declared, that the empire ought not to engage in the quarrels of the emperor.

Bavaria and Cologne remained firm to Lewis; though ardent friends, they were but weak allies; threatened with the ban of the empire, and quickly driven out of their dominions, they escaped the resentment of the diet to fall into the hands of the aulick council, who afterwards degraded them, without form as without justice.

In England queen Anne succeeded to William, and engaged in all his schemes. Her council, extremely enraged against France, communicated their ardour to all her allies, and war was declared on all sides against Lewis and Philip.

The checks we received in Italy prefigured still greater disgraces. Those times were over when Lewis, at setting out from Versailles could say, I will go to such a place, I will take such a city, and I will

return such a day ; he no longer appeared at the head of his armies, he no longer kept the field with that confidence which had astonished all Europe, when, being obliged to decamp for the want of forage, he wrote to the enemies, letting them know the day and the hour of his departure, that they might follow him if they durst.

His grandson at first gave hopes that he would prove a warlike prince ; he left Madrid to go and defend his dominions in Italy. Cardinal Portocarrero and his whole council wrote to him, and conjured him not to go to Italy. He told their messenger, ‘ That he would answer ‘ them when he got there.’ He learned with the grief of a hero, that an hour before his arrival general Vesconti had been beat at Santa-Vittoria by the duke de Vendôme, who had succeeded Villeroi in the command of the army, that general having been taken prisoner when Cremona was surprisèd.

In the battle of Luzara he put himself at the head of a company of the household horse, and eagerly rushed into places where there was most danger. Eugene was vanquished as much as he could be : in all the accounts that were sent of this action
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to Versailles, prince Eugene is not said to have fled, but to have retreated. France ever esteemed Eugene, and the opinion this prince had of the French may be collected from what he wrote one of his generals: 'Endeavour,' said he, 'to fight the French, it is not possible to vanquish them.'

Lewis, although he no longer animated his armies by his presence, yet resolved to direct their motions from his cabinet; hence those precise instructions which make a general a mere machine. The efforts of genius were restrained by authority, and opportunity sacrificed to obedience. It was not to this system that Lewis owed his success in those happy times when he could say to an officer setting out for the army, 'Hint to monsieur de Turenne, that I should be glad to know sometimes what he designs to do.'

The plans for the campaign were now only settled by the king and his minister; but the latter, incapable of forming one himself, sought assistance from his friends, who had recourse to others more skilful than themselves. Lewis was impenetrable; Chamillard disclosed his designs to every body, and those orders which were sent to the French generals often reached

Marlborough and Eugene the same day, at first from publick report, and afterwards from secret correspondence.

The generals who commanded our armies had doubtless occasion for these arbitrary instructions ; it was necessary that the presumption of the Vendômes should be repressed, the incapacity of the king of Spain assisted, that the prudence of the duke of Burgundy should be awakened, and divisions among the generals prevented ; it was necessary to guard against the inexperience of la Feuillade, whose only merit was to be son-in-law to the minister ; of the count de Tessé, who was only fit to engage the Hugonots ; of Vivarais ; of Marlin, who had no other quality but courage ; and of Villeroi, who was never able to acquire the confidence of his soldiers : but the publick demanded why Catinat, Feuquieres, Vauban, Conti: these brave and experienced warriors were either allowed to retire to their estates, where they lived inactive, or to remain in Paris unnoticed.

The prince of Conti, who had signa-
lized himself at the battles of Steenkirk
and Nerwinde, was adored by the soldiers.
A certain person having told madame de
Maintenon that the whole kingdom was
grieved to see a general so brave, so pru-
dent,

dent, so beloved, whose name alone was sufficient to rouse the drooping spirits of a vanquished army, living in a kind of contempt at home,

‘ The prince of Conti’s merit,’ replied madame de Maintenon, ‘ can admit of no addition, in whatever light we view him, he is the worthiest man in France; but the king cannot resolve to give the command of his armies to a prince of his blood.’

‘ But, madam,’ said this person, ‘ does not the king retain some remembrance of the intercepted letters? and is it not resentment rather than policy that prevents the king from employing his kinsman?’

‘ Ah,’ replied madame de Maintenon, ‘ if the prince of Conti is of this opinion he does the king great injustice: the king is truly generous, he has pardoned the prince, and he never pardons by halves; but it is certain that he thinks it dangerous for the state to confide his person and his armies to the princes of the blood. We do not chuse to employ men who by their actions may become as great and powerful as the king is by his rank.’

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‘ These cautious maxims of policy,’ resumed the bishop of Agen, who relates this conversation, ‘ might formerly have been followed and avowed with justice, but at present the authority of the monarch is so firmly established, the people so submissive, and the nobles so humbled, that it seems odious to suspect a prince of the blood.’ ‘ All this is true,’ replied madame de Maintenon; ‘ but monsieur de Louvois so carefully inculcated this maxim into the king’s mind at a time when it was really necessary, that now it is no longer so, it is still observed.’

Devotion had likewise a part in the imprudent choice that was then made of generals; their piety, not their abilities for war, recommended them to the king, who supposed that an officer who received the communion frequently, could not fail of interesting heaven in his success; the best catholics were opposed to the heretick Marlborough, and a general’s punctuality in attending mass was more carefully enquired into than his vigilance in maintaining discipline in the camp.

Such as thought the valour, the number, and the confidence of soldiers, were the only

only divinities that presided over battles, laughed at these pious notions; such as knew the great principles upon which they were founded, pitied the king for carrying them so far; it was right to trust in providence, and to act as if nothing was to be expected from it.

The king's resolution not to tolerate the Huguenots, was another cause of the bad success of this war; at a time when he had most need of the affection of all his provinces, the southern ones were persecuted; a young country woman, whom the abbé du Chaylar forced from her lover, armed the fanatics against their butchers; a love quarrel produced a religious war; a handful of banditti, (for the Huguenots detested this rebellion,) made a fatal diversion for our arms, gave employment to two marshals of France, and would have laid waste the country, if England and Savoy had sent the promised succours; a baker's boy treated with Lewis XIV. like one sovereign with another. If the crimes which are committed through piety may ever be repented of, Cavalier would have taught the king how dangerous it is to sport with consciences by edicts.

However, the Huguenots who remained in France were less to be dreaded than those

those that had quitted it. The great number of refugees who were enlisted in the English and Dutch troops, had taught the enemies how to beat the French. Many of these refugees were taken prisoners, and Chamillard was for treating them as criminals, guilty of high treason: the king, although fully persuaded they were so, was assured that reprisals would be made, and therefore directed that they should neither be excluded from the right of nations nor the privilege of the cartel.

The dejection into which all the orders of the state were thrown, and the discontent of some, was another source of our misfortunes; the people were delivered up to the financeers, the church to the jesuits, and the princes and nobles to the ministers. The king was at length convinced, that by seeking glory he often lost the affections of his people: he was now beloved only by such as received pensions from his bounty, and those who defended their country were no longer sensible that they had one. What interest, it was asked, have the nation in this war? And Fenelon declared in his writings, that the king was in conscience obliged to make war at his own expence, since he made it only for his family.

These times, so barren in virtue, yet produced some good citizens: Villars, who,

who, as he said himself, loved no money but what belonged to the enemy, and who was as capable of giving wise counsel as of gaining battles; Vauban, who owed his rise to his own merit, but by the cabals of courtiers removed from the army; D'Huxelles, whose plainness and sincerity are so well marked in the answer he made to the king, when he rallied him upon living unmarried; *I have never yet seen a woman of whom I could wish to be the husband, nor a man of whom I could wish to be the father.* Boufflers, who in a monarchy dared to exert the virtues of a republican, and who acquired as much glory by obeying as others fancy there is honour in commanding; Noailles, who desired leave to serve at a time when our generals were without ambition and without hope, and in a country where not to be defeated was the greatest honour they could expect.

CHAPTER V.

The duke of Orleans. Siege of Turin.

DURING the two first years of the war the French were often successful, and often met with great and sudden reverses of fortune. The year 1704 saw the whole
face

face of Europe changed, Germany in one moment delivered from the French, Spain almost conquered by Portugal, which had lately engaged in the grand alliance, and whose troops were reinforced by those of England and Holland; the archduke Charles assumed the title of king of Spain, and the battle of Hockstadt so imprudently hazarded, so weakly supported, deprived us of an hundred leagues of territory, and from the Danube threw us back to the Rhine.

The elector of Bavaria, Tallard, and Marfin, reciprocally charged each other with the loss of this battle, so fatal in its consequences, in its circumstances so shameful. Villars, the only man who could be opposed to Marlborough, had been condemned to fight with Cavalier, because he had quarrelled with the elector.

The king received the news of this defeat with a fortitude equal to his astonishment; but, when the croud of courtiers was withdrawn, he confessed to madame de Maintenon, that he had never before felt so great a shock. She told him that mortals must humble themselves under the hand of God. ‘Ah, madam,’ replied the king, ‘thirty French battalions made prisoners of war!’ The evening before one of our soldiers said to the prince of Baden,

den, 'I have the honour to be a French-
' man.'

Father de la Chaise had prepared a consolatory discourse. 'Father,' said the king when he appeared, 'we are not to be always fortunate; God is pleased to punish France, we must submit to his will.'

This ill news did not put a stop to his innocent amusements; his countenance discovered no emotion, his discourse betrayed no dejection; he comforted the widows of those who had died in his service, he thanked Marfin for not despairing to retrieve the affairs of France; he was never before so truly great.

The next year was more glorious for France, but more fatal to Spain: Nice and Villa Franca, two important towns, were taken; the victory of Cassano was disputed by Vendôme with Eugene, and adjudged to the former; Champaign was guarded against an invasion by Villars, whom Marlborough durst not venture to attack. In Flanders Huy was taken and lost again, Dieft taken and kept, and the army was preserved; but in Spain Tessé raised the siege of Gibraltar, the Portuguese took several towns, Barcelona surrendered to the archduke Charles; the
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house of Austria acquired new friends every day, and the Spaniards expressed more indignation against the hereticks for profaning their churches than for dethroning their king.

The elector of Bavaria declared that he would pass the winter at Paris, to concert with the king the plan for the operations of the ensuing campaign. This resolution alarmed all the friends of the minister; they were apprehensive he would complain of being ill served the last campaign, that he would speak the truth, and ruin Chamillard; however the king was desirous of conferring with the elector, who only wanted to be invited.

The cabal knew the king's extreme delicacy, in every point that related to his dignity; they told him, that the duke of Bavaria pretended to the privilege of an arm-chair in his presence, which, however, this prince had never thought of. The king was apprehensive that if it was refused him, he would complain of it as an affront; and if it was granted, Europe would have accused him of mean condescension to his allies: the army therefore was abandoned to the instructions of Chamillard, and to the blunders of Villeroy.

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When the elector of Bavaria was informed of this malicious intrigue, he said, ' I never have an arm-chair with the king of England; I should not have embarrassed the king of France with the trifles of the ceremonial; virtue and honour are every where conveniently seated.'

The battle of Ramillies was shamefully lost, notwithstanding the bravery of the king's household troops, victorious at first; but, being ill supported, they were broke, though they rallied; and when overpowered by the enemy they retreated at length in good order. All the rest of the army fled, dispersed, threw themselves into the nearest towns, and defended them very ill.

The cry against Villeroi was now universal. Madame de Maintenon had a particular friendship for him; but convinced of his incapacity, she prevailed upon the king, who still ballanced between his favourite and the publick, to sacrifice her friend to the good of the state, representing him as a most imprudent general, and very unfit for the command he had honoured him with.

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Villeroi

Villeroi was recalled; he attributed all his misfortunes to Chamillard. The king, to spare him the mortifying raillery of the courtiers, granted him a private conversation, but would not hear his excuses. The marshal, enraged at the publick reproach of incapacity, rejected the indulgence of his master, and complained so bitterly of the injury that had been done him, that he fell into a kind of disgrace.

Ap. 19. Our affairs wore a better appearance in
1706: Italy. The duke de Vendôme, in his letter to the king, said, *I will beat the enemy*; and the next day he surpris'd the Danish general count Reventlau at Calcinato, killed three thousand of his men, took eight thousand prisoners, and lost only seven hundred of his own soldiers. Big with hopes and projects, he received orders to leave Italy, and take upon him the command of the army in Flanders, in the room of Villeroi. Vendôme obeyed; Italy was lost, without recovering our advantages in Flanders.

The king was a long time in doubt what general he should send to succeed Vendôme in Italy. The duke of Orleans appeared the most likely to console the army for the loss of their late general; but his debaucheries had already removed him
from

from all command in the armies. His licentious court of Saint-Cloud was composed only of gay witty philosophers, celebrated for their amours; of La Fare captain of his guards, and regulator of his pleasures; of the abbé de Grancey his almoner, who diverted him with satirical songs, and took care never to fatigue him with masses; of the viscount de Polignac, and the marquis de Nêle, whose wives were leagued against devotion; of Effiat, Simiane, Clermont, Conflans, voluptuous youths, who copied their master.

Fontenelle also attended the court of this prince; and, too sensible of the honour of being admitted to his familiarity, went with him sometimes to consult magicians upon his future fortune; however he was often shocked at the impious language he heard at table. ‘These,’ said he, one day, ‘are very low jests for gentlemen.’

The king was not ignorant of the disorders of this little court; he often reproved his nephew for that extravagant fondness for women, which made all the mothers in the quarter Saint-Honoré tremble, and which sometimes carried him into places consecrated to piety, and sometimes to others devoted to the most unrestrained libertinism.

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The abbé Dubois, who had been his preceptor, was suspected of having married, to give a convenient mistress to the prince; not that there were very strong reasons for this suspicion, but every thing was thought possible to a man who could say, 'The day that sees me a priest will see me receive the communion for the first time.'

The lieutenant de Police planted a certain number of soldiers about those publick houses to which the duke of Orleans often resorted for amusement, who gave an account of his behaviour, and guarded his person. Certainly the king was excusable for giving the command of his army to a good man rather than to this young prince.

The duke of Orleans, piqued at being unemployed, exhaled his chagrin in judicious remarks upon the bad conduct of the generals, and consoled himself with the princes of Condé and Conti for the misfortune of being prince of the blood; for he affected to believe that was the sole cause of his being excluded.

This sort of discourse at first gave offence; but afterwards the prince's observations

tions appeared so just, that it was hoped he who could project so many great things might be capable of performing some. The king asked his opinion of the disposition of the army in Flanders; the duke of Orleans told him that if the French were attacked they would certainly be beat. The overthrow at Ramillies proved the truth of his observations, and determined his uncle to employ him.

But although a perfect purity of manners could not be immediately expected of him, yet he was required to behave with decency at least. The duke complained to madame de Maintenon of the king's excessive coldness towards him. 'Your amours,' said madame de Maintenon, 'are the cause of it; the king is extremely severe upon such faults, and your royal highness allows yourself in a licentiousness which gives scandal to persons much more indulgent to the passions of youth than his majesty.'

The duke of Orleans assured her that he would sacrifice every passion to the king, and that the desire of pleasing and of serving him was always most powerful in his heart. Madame de Maintenon, taking him at his word, asked him if he would sacrifice mademoiselle Sery to the king, a

young woman whom he then kept publicly, and was extremely fond of. This request awakened some sentiments of honour in his mind; he was ashamed of having lived so long in libertine pleasures, he was apprehensive of sharing the infamy of his mistress, and glory silenced the soft pleadings of love.

Madame de Maintenon, taking his silence for consent, added, ' Since you have resolved to renounce this young woman, your peace will be soon made.' Madame de Dangeau was sent for; the prince's resolution was highly applauded; they presented him with paper and ink, and prevailed upon him to take an absolute leave of mademoiselle Sery.

Madame de Dangeau set out instantly for Paris. She went to the house of the mistress, and delivered the prince's letter to her, before a great deal of company. Mademoiselle Sery, being thus dismissed, retired to a convent, and gave out that she had quitted the prince first*. The king flattering himself that this first offering to decency would be followed by a more regular conduct, rewarded his nephew for it, by giving him the command of the

* *Memoirs of madame de Boujou,*

troops in Italy. The duke of Orleans received this proof of his esteem and confidence with excessive joy ; the court and the city approved of the king's choice, and the army now thought itself invincible.

But the king judging that the prince, with every talent to form a great captain had not the experience of one, subjected him to very exact and particular orders, designed to moderate his ardor, but which only served to blast all his enterprises.

The duke of Orleans' historian attributes these orders to the advice of madame de Maintenon, too indulgent to the dutchess of Burgundy, who being persuaded of the great abilities of the new general, thought the ruin of her father unavoidable, if his hands were not tied.

It is certain that this princess was extremely afflicted at the first suspicions which were entertained against the duke of Savoy. Her terror and anxiety, when she was told that the king had given orders to have him arrested and his troops cashiered, were plain to every observer. Whether her father was conquered, or was conqueror, she had tears to shed, either for the family she was born in, or for that which had adopted her. The courtiers, who

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were

were witnesses of her sorrow, thought her tears were rather those of a Savoyard than a Frenchwoman : hence those malignant censures and reports, which the publick eagerly received, and which the historians have preserved to us. Madame de Maintenon, who knew the origin of all these malicious reports, often said to her, ' Madam, if you do not constrain yourself, this country will be a hell for you.'

Her affection for France grew with age ; she was but twelve years old when she left Turin ; she had forgot her country and her family. She must necessarily be attached to a kingdom over which her children were to reign, and her letters shew that she was a most tender mother. The king's extreme fondness of her was a new tie ; and her affection for the queen of Spain, her sister, must certainly engage her in her party against a father, who was endeavouring to dethrone her, although other more powerful motives had not acted upon her mind.

However that may be, it is absurd to believe that madame de Maintenon balanced a moment between the duke of Savoy and the king, or that she saved Turin through regard or through compassion to the dutcheis of Burgundy ; yet, absurd as these

these censures are, the strongest arguments that can be urged against them will not be sufficient to refute them with those weak and prejudiced persons who have admitted them as true. Lewis subjected his nephew to the direction of marshal de Marfin, because he was apprehensive of the rash courage of a young warrior, and could not rely upon the prudence of a general who had made but two campaigns and some reflections. The king might have been blamed for giving bad orders, but not for giving absolute ones.

The duke of Orleans left Paris loaded July 1. with debts which he had contracted for the good of the state; passing by Turin he visited the works carried on for the siege, and saw that they were very badly conducted. The city was attacked in the strongest place; no bomb had yet been thrown, while the besieged battered the French camp, and their mortars filled the trenches with a shower of stones. These faults were owing to La Feuillade, and these were also imputed to the dutchess of Burgundy. It was reported that La Feuillade had dared to cast a profane eye upon her; but his presumption not reaching so far as to declare his passion, he endeavoured to make her sensible of it by saving her father's capital.

The duke of Orleans found an army destitute of necessaries, wasted by sickness, ill equipt, and extremely weak. That of La Feuillade, which invested Turin, was plentifully supplied with all things. Chamillard gave all his attention to his son-in-law. The prince demanded twenty battalions of Feuillade, and this reinforcement enabled him to oppose prince Eugene, who had penetrated into Piedmont, to throw supplies of provision into Turin.

The duke of Orleans arrived before him in the neighbourhood of the invested city. He was enraged to see the siege no farther advanced than it had been two months before; not one attack had succeeded; all the batteries had been ill placed; the enemy's works, which were most exposed to the fire of our army, were still unhurt. The troops did not want courage, but the commander wanted skill. Feuillade alledged in his excuse, that his army had been weakened by the supplies he had given the duke of Orleans, and that his engineers were ignorant of their business; but no one doubted that the besieged held correspondence with some persons in our camp.

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The king consulted old Vauban upon this siege, who intreated his majesty to permit him to direct the works ; ‘ But, monsieur la maréchal,’ said the king, ‘ do not you think this employment below your dignity ?’ ‘ Sire,’ answered Vauban, ‘ my greatest dignity is to serve the state ; I will leave the marshal’s staff behind me, and I may perhaps assist the duke de la Feuillade to take the city.’

The next day this man, who placed his highest honour in the contempt of honours, again intreated the king to send him to the army, and was again refused through respect and esteem. The dutchess of Burgundy, who knew of this refusal no sooner than the whole court, was accused of having suggested it to madame de Maintenon, and through her to the king.

Prince Eugene, in concert with the duke of Savoy, who had joined him, resolved to attack the duke of Orleans. The orders which they gave for the next day proved that they knew either from the camp or from Versailles those which Marfin had received to wait for them in their trenches. The duke of Orleans represented that the trenches had been thrown up in haste ; that the army was weakened, by the severe

ral posts which it was necessary to guard ; and if the lines were forced, a retreat was impossible.

The old officers repeated and urged the same arguments. Marfin then shewed the king's orders, in which he expressly forbid them to offer battle. At that instant a general cry of indignation was raised in the council. ' Well,' said the duke of Orleans, ' let us suffer ourselves to be ' butchered in obedience to the king's ' commands.' Was he then answerable for the event? a victory would have justified him to the king, and a small defeat might have cleared him to the people ; but he was persuaded that the enemies, he had most reason to fear, were not in his camp.

The next day he was attacked : all that he had foreseen happened ; the trenches were forced ; the troops, dispersed to guard different posts were cut off in single companies, and the rout was general. Marfin, ashamed of the part he had acted, sought death with the despair of a hero. The duke of Orleans, covered with his own and the enemies blood, enraged at the flight of his men, was reduced to defend his life, and killed with his own hand all that opposed him ; he was at length carried away from the combat ; and, equally
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sensible of friendship as of glory, he asked whether the abbé de Grancey, who had fallen by his side, still lived, and whether his wounds had been dressed before the battle was over?

It was rather a flight than a retreat, the artillery, ammunition, and provision, were abandoned to the enemy. The duke of Orleans and his officers deliberated, whether to preserve Italy they should not retire under Casal, or to guard Dauphiné march to Pignerol. The duke resolved upon the latter, and was twice deceived. He received advice, that the duke of Savoy was gone to kindle the flames of war in the Cevennes, and that the passage to Casal was guarded by six thousand men. The duke's credulity was the cause of our being driven from Modena, from Mantua, and Milan, and rendered useless the victory which Médavy gained two days afterwards over the prince of Hesse at Castiglione.

However, the king was so far from reproaching his nephew with having lost Italy, that he only thought of comforting him for the loss of a battle. The duke of Orleans was received as if he had been a conqueror; all were eager to see him, all were ready to praise an unfortunate hero: but the duke, instead of dissembling

his resentment, complained loudly of Feuillade, Chamillard, and the dutchess of Burgundy. Madame de Maintenon, whom he called the faultless woman, was the only person excepted from his complaints and threats : nor did he ever reckon her among the number of those enemies, by whom he was afterwards overwhelmed.

Mean time in Germany marshal Villars supported the honour of the French name. He raised the blockade of Fort-Lewis, his lieutenants took Drusenheim and Haguenau ; he ravaged the Palatinate, executed the bold project of seizing the Isle of Marquisate, and formed another still bolder for the next campaign ; but his army was weak, and notwithstanding all the advantages he had gained, he gave the enemies very little fear. He was not able to prevent the electors of Cologne and Bavaria from being put under the ban of the empire by Joseph, who succeeded the emperor Leopold his father, and inherited his claims, his tyranny, his character, and his ministers. While France was dreading an invasion, Spain really suffered one. The count de Tessé had lost an army at Gibraltar ; the English and Dutch took every town they attacked : two protestant refugees carried off all the glory of this campaign, so fatal to Philip
the

the Fifth. These were the earl of Galloway son of the marquis de Ruigny, and general Carle, who learned the art of war under William the Third.

The earl of Galloway, by having always commanded in chief, is well known; general Carle, born in a village of the Cevennes, raised himself by his courage and abilities, to the highest honours. He served at once the queen of England, the king of Portugal, and the States-General; and, alike faithful to them all, he justly merits to be rescued from that oblivion, into which the highest merit, when not annexed to the highest rank, often falls. He directed the works at the siege of Salamanca; he defended Barcelona against the king of Spain, who raised the siege of that place, after the trenches had been opened before it seven and thirty days. It was this general who made that fine retreat from Andalusia, so greatly admired by marshal Berwick; and many other glorious actions* were performed by him, the recital of which by his nephew would be suspected: but those glorious actions were not performed for the service of his own country.

* See Tindal's continuation of Rapin Thoyras.

The archduke Charles, now master of the greatest part of Spain, marched to Madrid, which the king and queen immediately quitted. The people were in the utmost consternation; the grandees swore to die faithful to Philip the Fifth; the priests exhorted the inhabitants to remain firm in their obedience to their unfortunate prince; tears flowed from every eye, when the queen was seen to depart without any equipage or train; all hearts followed her to Beslanga, a castle four and twenty leagues distant from the capitol, whither she retired.

This princess, who had that true courage which is founded on virtue, confirmed her husband in his magnanimous resolutions, and his subjects in their fidelity and affection to him. To suffer hunger and thirst, to lye hard, dismiss her servants, and nurse her children herself, sell her jewels, and be in want of all the necessaries of life; such were the extremities to which she was reduced, and endured all with patience: no murmur escaped her lips, no dejection depressed her mind. She sought succours on every side; she enlisted a great number of peasants, and would have led them on to battle, if she had been permitted.

One

One of the ministers alarming her upon the progress of the archduke, 'We have still a great many cities,' replied the queen. 'But suppose we are deprived of them, madam?' said the minister. 'When driven from the last,' answered the resolute princess, 'I will go into the mountains, and with my children in my arms, clamber from rock to rock till they have killed us.'

It was but just that a mind so elevated, should have an ascendant over others: but although she governed Philip, she was herself governed by the princess Des Ursins, who moulded her wholly to her will, by softening with all the French gaiety and skill in pleasing, that languor into which the ceremonial of the palace threw a young queen, surrounded with grave austere old women, condemned to laugh by rule, and who had no other amusement but their conversation.

Madame Des Ursins had acquired so much power and influence in this court, that when in the year 1704, she was, at the intreaty of Lewis XIV. sacrificed to a cabal of priests and ambassadors, and dismissed from the queen's service, every thing languished as soon as she had quitted Spain:
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the queen was oppressed with melancholy ; the king would no longer attend to the business of the state ; in their letters to the king of France, they solicited neither for money nor troops ; the princess Des Ursins was all they required : both earnestly intreated that she might be permitted to return ; and their request was at length granted, notwithstanding the extreme aversion which Lewis always had to ambitious and intriguing women.

When the princess arrived again at Madrid, every thing wore a new face ; hope revived, dejection was no more, the king breathed nothing but war, the queen no longer feared being dethroned : in a word, the *camerera mayor* was received as the tutelary divinity of Spain.

If madame Des Ursins had reflected ever so little upon her own talents, she must have been astonished at the part that was given her to act, and questioned herself by what strange enchantment they had been made to believe, that she was capable of regulating affairs of the greatest consequence in a state, she who was conscious that she was only fitted for the little arts of cabal and intrigue. Her wit was lively and agreeable, but she wanted judgment ; her piety was superstitious, and her temper

temper subject to innumerable caprices. Madame de Maintenon used to say, that the princess Des Ursins knew not how to bear either good or ill fortune.

This lady in her youth had had some amours which were forgot, but again recalled to remembrance when in her old age: she was seen endeavouring to allure the marquis d'Aubigné, who was sent ambassador from France to Madrid, disputing him with the most beautiful of the Spanish ladies, and carrying him off in triumph from the most intriguing.

Her excessive pride, as well as her favour with the king and queen, rendered her odious to the grandees; they often complained of her to the queen, who not knowing that the people never behold favourites with the same eyes as princes do, always answered, that madame Des Ursins was one of the best women in the world. The princess Des Ursins passed one half of her life in giving advice to her sovereigns, and the other in endeavouring to conceal from them the errors in that advice. She presided at all deliberations of the council, without being admitted to the place where they were held: it was with her that the ambassadors treated; to her the generals gave an account of their sieges,

sieges, marches, and battles: the ministers of state durst not contradict her; and even Berwick feigned to have conquered only by her orders.

Cardinal Portocarrero was jealous of her power; and his creatures murmured at the domination of a woman. The princess Des Ursins was afraid that their murmurs should reach the court of Versailles, and that she should be again recalled; and that she might have a support against all her enemies, she engaged the court of France in her interests; and insensibly drew to her side, the king who feared her, the dutchess of Burgundy who hated her, and madame de Maintenon who had never esteemed her.

In all the dispatches she sent to France, she assumed so much frankness, humility, and rectitude of mind, that even the marquis de Torcy was persuaded, her short disgrace had altered her disposition. She had been accused of haughtiness and severity; she now affected great gentleness and moderation, and always implored the king's clemency for those, against whom she endeavoured to arm his justice.

Lewis had often complained of the contradictions he found between her accounts
of

of affairs, and those which were given him by his ambassadors: she now so well concerted all matters with them, that he thought he was served with equal fidelity by her and by his envoys. Madame de Maintenon, who was extremely severe against women who wanted virtue, but perhaps too favourable to those who affected it, had been irritated at her passion for the marquis d'Aubigné; not that she believed all the reports that were spread against her, but because she greatly condemned those faults in her conduct, which gave rise to them. The princess Des Ursins, to whom love was rather an amusement than a serious affair, sent back the marquis d'Aubigné so soon, that, to the esteem we necessarily have for the innocent, madame de Maintenon, joining that of compassion for the injured, became her strongest support.

The allies were not wise enough to draw any advantage from the misunderstanding, which the too great power and influence of a foreigner created between the Spaniards and Philip the Fifth. The archduke, who had made himself master of Madrid, was proclaimed king there by his army, but was rejected by the people. His German manners, his contempt of those of Spain, his inclination to treat
like

like a conquered country, a country which he claimed as his own by right of birth, but especially the cruelties exercised by the allies, alienated all hearts from him.

Philip was so secure of his people's affection, that he used his utmost endeavours to force the archduke to a battle: but Charles rather chose to exhaust all the force of his enemy by sieges, than to hazard a battle, the loss of which would oblige him to return to Austria. Towards the end of the year, Philip entered Madrid amidst the acclamations of the people, who had cursed his competitor. They burned the picture, the standard, and the edicts of the archduke, who continued still intoxicated with chimerical royalty, although convinced that he had not that claim to the crown, which enforces all others, the consent of the people.

CHAPTER VI.

The year 1707.

THE duke of Orleans was now sent to Spain, and treated the princess Des Ursins with the most mortifying indifference. He had great respect for her sex, but little consideration for her power and influence; his behaviour to her was a mixture of haughtiness and respect; this produced at first a secret hatred, and afterwards an open rupture.

Marshal Berwick was more complaisant; he soothed the haughty favourite, and found in her all the support a man, envious like him of a prince who came to deprive him of his command, could have expected or desired. His endeavours to force the archduke to come to action had been all ineffectual; he hoped to find it more easy to make the earl of Galloway fight, who had greater presumption and less caution. In a letter he wrote on the twenty-first of April to Madrid, he declared, that without waiting for a reinforcement, he would force the enemy to raise the siege of Villena.

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The princess Des Ursins intreated the king to conceal the purport of this letter from the duke of Orleans: 'he will expose himself too much,' she said, 'he will expose our army; he is our last resource; if both our generals are vanquished, the troops will be discouraged;' and added a thousand other trifling reasons, to which the earnestness of her who urged them, and the weakness of him who heard them, gave weight.

Apr. 25 Mean time marshal Berwick drew near to Almanza. At the first report of his march, lord Galloway quitted the siege of Villena to go and meet him. Marshal Berwick expected him, and feared him so little, that he gave him a free passage. The victory was disputed a long time. The duke of Orleans, who rather guessed, than knew that there would be a battle, left Madrid precipitately, and arrived just as the battle was almost over. He saw the enemy put into disorder: Berwick had the glory of having conquered them, and left the duke of Orleans the honour of pursuing them. The marshal assured him, with oaths, that he had been first attacked; the duke pretended to believe him, but suffered his resentment against the princess Des Ursins to break out with violence. He

He complained of the court of Madrid for shewing a distrust of him; he was told, that they were not willing to let him hazard his person at that battle, and had through friendship deceived him, in order to hinder his being present at it. The duke exclaimed against that friendship which dishonoured him. *Marshal Berwick*, said Philip, in the letter he wrote to him upon that occasion, *has done a great deal, but much more remains to be done, and I do not doubt but you will do it.* The princess Des Ursins, being informed of the hatred which the dutchess of Burgundy bore to the duke of Orleans, endeavoured to recommend herself to that princess, by assuming the merit of the affront, which was given to their common enemy.

Mean time the duke of Orleans was endeavouring to take a noble revenge for it, by conquering the kingdom of Valencia. Requena, Valencia, Sarragossa, surrendered at discretion. Despising these trifling successes, he determined to lay siege to Lerida, one of the strongest fortresses in Spain, and the stumbling-block of the great Condé. The two kings approved of his design; the heavy artillery was sent him from France, he took possession of all the posts near the city, every day brought accounts of some new enterprises, and not one check. The enemy
durst

durst not approach him, and took refuge at length under the cannon of Barcelona.

The city was invested ; but before he began the attack, he was desirous of being provided with every thing that could secure its success. The princess Des Ursins protracted the arrival of the artillery and ammunition : the duke of Orleans demanded the ammunition and provisions which were in the kingdom of Valencia ; they were denied him : he demanded carriages for the cannon ; they also were denied : however, he opened the trenches, and nine days afterwards gave the assault.

The garrison withdrew into the citadel ; the duke gave up the city to be pillaged, but took such wise measures, that in this act of licentious disorder, the most admirable order was maintained. The citadel held out longer ; the vigour with which the city had been attacked, had exhausted the ammunition : however, the soldiers, animated by the hope and the desire of plunder, were full of eager impatience to storm it. The duke of Orleans, knowing the place could not be succoured, chose rather to lose time than men. At length he made preparations for playing the mines, which obliged the prince of Darmstadt to promise that he would capitulate

pitulate the next day. The duke of Orleans would give him only one hour to determine ; and, by his resolution and valour, finished an enterprize, which he had undertaken contrary to the opinion of marshal Berwick, and which had been traversed by those whose interest it was to favour it.

The same day that the place surrendered, the duke of Orleans received orders to raise the siege. The marquis de Bay in the mean time had taken Ciudad-Rodrigo, and the duke de Noailles got possession of Puycerda, and of all Cerdagne, and built a citadel in Puycerda at the expence of Cerdagne.

The duke of Orleans was received at Madrid as the deliverer of the nation. The king had always esteemed him ; four years before he had declared himself in his favour, when the testament of Charles the Second was disputed ; but the queen could never sufficiently admire the man who preserved the crown to her husband. The princess Des Ursins exaggerated his merit in such a manner, as shewed she was apprehensive the sincerity of her praises would be doubted. The duke of Orleans enjoyed his own glory and the confusion

fusion of his enemy, like a hero and a prince.

After having held the prince of Asturias at the baptismal font, as proxy for Lewis the Fourteenth, he returned to Versailles, where he received praises so much the more flattering to his vanity, as other generals had deserved them.

In Germany marshal Villars had surprised the lines of Stolophin, and marshal de Tessé had obliged the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene to raise the siege of Toulon. All was now quiet in Flanders; Marlborough, instead of gaining a battle, went to Saxony, to engage Charles the Twelfth in the grand alliance. *If Toulon is taken, said the Swede, I will go and retake it*; and these words, it was reported, determined the allies to repass the Var.

Although France had been very successful this year, yet her finances were almost exhausted, and a deplorable poverty was felt over all the kingdom.

The financiers were tolerated in the most outrageous oppressions. The ecclesiasticks were commanded to exhort the people to pay the taxes regularly, and upon some complaints made by the farmers of the

the revenue, circular letters * were wrote to all the bishops in the kingdom, wherein they were ordered to pronounce the frauds and stratagems, by which contraband goods were introduced, to be mortal sins. Such an order as this, could only be excused by the state's being plunged into the most dreadful extremity ; it is a monument of the abuse of supreme authority, and of the clergy's abject compliance with the court, so long as their immunities were respected.

* Here follows this singular letter composed by the marquis de Torcy. ' Monsieur, the king taking into
' consideration, the just remonstrances of those persons concerned in his farms, who have for several
' years complained, that the frauds carried on in the
' customs, and the introducing of contraband merchandise, which is every where committed with impunity, are a great prejudice to them, has taken
' proper measures to stop such practices for the future ;
' and his majesty is pleased to order that you should be
' made acquainted with his intentions, to the end that
' you may concur with him in his endeavours to prevent these frauds, which so greatly affect his interest.
' His majesty therefore expressly enjoins you, but under
' the seal of secrecy, to take care that the curates and
' other priests, employed in confession in your diocese,
' perform their duty in an affair of this consequence,
' in which the good of the state is so nearly concerned :
' I do not doubt but you will enter into these views,
' which it is not necessary to explain farther.'

In a country where the people are governed only by laws which they make or approve, any frauds carried on against the just rights of the prince, are robberies committed upon society, and equally condemned by religion and by law ; but in a state where the taxes are arbitrarily imposed, to make a mortal sin of running merchandise, is one of the most iniquitous attempts of tyranny against natural liberty and the rights of conscience : let the person so guilty be sent to the galleys, but let him not be damned by the priest.

CHAPTER VII.

The siege of Lisle.

1708. **L**ewis attempted to make a diversion, by sending the son of king James into Scotland. He said to the duke of Berwick, when he came to take leave of him, ‘ You have engaged in a dangerous enterprize.’ ‘ Sire,’ replied the duke, ‘ my speech is ready, and here are my gloves ?’

This project failed ; the Scotch lords were intimidated by a powerful fleet, and returned

returned no answer to the signals made by Fourbin, who arrived happily in the frith of Edinburgh.

The duke of Orleans, at his return to Spain, finding himself at the head of a fine army, laid siege to Tortosa. The princess Des Ursins again took measures to blast this design. The duke threatened to make her answerable for his ill success; but his threats did not alarm her; the succours he demanded were not sent to him; the princess, in her letters to Lewis the Fourteenth, assured him that the duke was strong enough to make head against the count de Staremburg, the archduke's general. Lewis, upon this information, dispatched orders to the duke of Orleans, to send fifteen squadrons to marshal Villars in Dauphiné. The prince did not obey: he replied, that if his army was weakened, he should infallibly be beat; and obtained a revocation of the order. He procured from the neighbouring provinces of France, those succours which Spain refused to send him; he borrowed large sums, he sold his wife's jewels, and raised a hundred thousand crowns upon his equipages: he neglected nothing that could secure his success, and made the most of every advantage; and finding it impossible to force count Staremburg to a battle, he put him

out of a condition to undertake any thing the ensuing campaign.

The princeſs Des Urſins, his implacable enemy, ſent a memorial to madame de Maintenon, in which ſhe lavished the moſt extravagant praiſes on him, while ſhe blackened him with accuſations ; and that what he had to ſay againſt her might not gain belief, ſhe mentioned a hundred examples of his extreme credulity and weak indulgence to his favourites : to alarm the king, ſhe inſinuated that the count de Bezons, the duke of Orleans's agent at Madrid, was more devoted to the nephew than the uncle ; and, to turn the piety of madame de Maintenon to her own advantage, ſhe related ſeveral inſtances of the duke's libertine conduct, and of his contempt for religion.

She accuſed him of having forced the king of Spain, by repeated importunities, urged with great haughtineſs, to maintain the nobility of Arragon in their privileges, which the king, for good reaſons, would have deprived them of. She made it a crime in the duke to have granted an honourable capitulation to the garrifon of Tortoſa, which he ought to have made priſoners of war ; ſhe charged him with pride in accepting the canopy which had
been

been offered him, when he entered that city; and with cruelty in making use of authority, when gentleness might have prevailed; and assured madame de Maintenon that he had spoke of Lewis XIV. with great indifference, and of Philip V. with great contempt*.

Madame de Maintenon immediately discovered, that the memorial had been wrote rather to justify herself than hurt the duke of Orleans, and she resolved to suppress it; but the prince having filled the hall of Marli with the most bitter complaints against madame Des Ursins, that princess intreated her friend to present her memorial

* The following is a letter from madame de Maintenon, to the princess Des Ursins, dated November the 25th 1708.

‘ I had no occasion, madam, for the memorial you
‘ have sent me relating to the duke of Orleans. I
‘ am so well convinced of your candour and of the justice of all those with whom he had any business, that
‘ if he had complained I should not have doubted a moment of his being to blame. I will keep this memorial to shew to the king, if the affair should be made
‘ publick; it will not be proper to let others see it,
‘ nor shall even his majesty see it without your consent.
‘ I know, madam, how greatly you esteem this prince’

memorial to the king. In publick Lewis praised the duke of Orleans, and in private made him reproaches, against which he warmly defended himself.

The duke and dutchess of Burgundy, either through friendship for the princess Des Ursins, through prejudice against her enemy, or perhaps through regard for the king and queen of Spain, personally affronted by him who had restored them to their throne, exclaimed with the utmost bitterness against the duke of Orleans. This prince, who despised the efforts of his enemies to ruin him, laughed at the duke of Burgundy's unsocial piety, and ridiculed the ministers, the generals, and

‘ and how just you are to his fame ; but they are all too
 ‘ ready to give faith to their domesticks, which is insup-
 ‘ portable to those who love justice and truth : they
 ‘ often give me uneasiness. They are all indeed deserv-
 ‘ ing of our utmost love and esteem ; but they turn
 ‘ their good qualities against themselves, by not being
 ‘ able to comprehend that others do not possess the same
 ‘ qualities. The king, as the eldest of the family
 ‘ has the greatest share of this sincerity and credulity ;
 ‘ therefore, madam, you may depend upon it he will
 ‘ not deceive his grandson. It is certain that he does
 ‘ not think the peace so near as all our warriors desire
 ‘ it ; but it is also certain that he knows it is absolutely
 ‘ necessary, which you, madam, would confess were
 ‘ you here.’

the

the favourites ; he determined to take ample revenge when it was in his power, and, in the mean time, his hatred exhaled itself in witticisms. If there be any thing honourable in resentment it is in frankly discovering it, provided it be not too violent.

The campaign in Flanders was only a series of errors and misfortunes ; the correspondence we held in Ghent made the conquest of it secure. The king gave the duke of Burgundy the honour of this expedition. That prince had already commanded in Germany, Flanders, and Alsace, and had done nothing considerable ; either because opportunities failed him, or that, being better qualified for the cabinet than the field, he did not take advantage of opportunities.

He took Ghent as soon as he arrived, July 5. and his lieutenants got possession of Bruges and Plassendal. Marshal Villeroi, who suffered no errors but his own to escape his observation, foresaw the consequences of these, and said plainly to madame de Maintenon, ‘ The taking of Ghent and ‘ Bruges will infallibly ruin us, because we ‘ cannot possibly maintain our towns and ‘ cover them at the same time *.’

* Letter from madame de Maintenon to the princess Des Ursins, November the 25th. The original is in the cabinet of cardinal Lanti, at Rome.

The king appointed the duke of Vendôme to assist his grandson with his councils, in which office he joined marshal Berwick, whom the reinforcement which came from Germany, naturally brought back to the army; but Lewis empowered the prince to decide absolutely, when the two generals were divided in their opinions.

The duke of Burgundy was convinced that Vendôme was a hero; but his presumption, his want of vigilance, his neglect of discipline, put him upon his guard against his advice*.

The battle of Oudenarde gave him no cause to change his opinion of the duke of Vendôme. The duke occupied the post of Lessines; he there found Marlborough and Eugene, who had already passed the Scheld: Vendôme attacked them before all his troops had joined him.

The duke, hoping to repair the misfortune he had brought upon himself by this rashness, proposed to continue all night in the field of battle. The enemies were be-

* Here I closely copy madame de Maintenon.

tween him and the rest of the army; and an entire defeat was unavoidable. His advice and his romantick courage were alike laughed at: he retired towards Ghent; and, notwithstanding the gloss father Daniel puts upon this action, he was beat more in the night than he had been in the day.

He might have seized Lessines, a post of great importance, because it would have cut off all communication between Ostend and the enemy's camp; but this he did not think of till two months afterwards.

The allies now threatened Lisle with a siege. 'Go,' said the king to marshal Boufflers, 'go and shut yourself up there, and depend upon it you shall be succoured.' Boufflers instantly departed, without settling his affairs, without making any demand, and even without taking leave of his family. The king left him at liberty to chuse what lieutenants he pleased. Boufflers named two men, one of whom was in disgrace, and the other in the Bastile; and he was but the more esteemed, and the better served for this choice.

As soon as Lisle was invested, the duke of Burgundy declared that he would go and meet the enemy. All the young officers said, that if he waited for the allied

army, and was attacked, he would be defeated; marshal Berwick assured him, that he would lose the army; the duke de Vendôme was of opinion, that he ought to delay his march for some time longer.

While heats and animosities reigned in the French camp, the duke of Marlborough began to intrench his army. Vendôme advised the duke of Burgundy to attack him; marshal Berwick opposed this advice, because it was given by Vendôme: the duke of Burgundy, fluctuating between the councils of two men equally prudent and brave, determined to follow that which shewed the greatest caution. ‘But,’ said madame de Maintenon (whom it was reported, the duke of Burgundy by avoiding a battle, endeavoured to hinder being declared queen) ‘what could be done by a young prince who, being destitute of experience, found himself engaged in the most difficult affair imaginable? how could he discover that the conqueror of Almanza gave him cowardly advice, and that he ought to be guided by the duke de Vendôme, who was obnoxious to three fourths of the army; and that, of two specious opinions, he ought to prefer that of the general who did not possess the confidence of the king his grandfather?’

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The duke of Marlborough intrenched himself so advantageously, that even Vendôme and Chamillard, who were always for fighting, agreed to tell the king, that it was impossible to offer him battle without hazarding all.

From that time the duke de Vendôme, in all his letters to the king, insisted that Ghent and Bruges ought to be supported; that they should prevent the enemy's passage, stop all their convoys of provisions and ammunition, for the troops before Lisle, and for the other fortresses they had dismantled, and at length starve them in their lines.

Marshal Berwick was of opinion, that our plan was too comprehensive; that the guard of the Scheld was too much extended; that the enemies might surprise a passage whenever they pleased; that we ought to leave Ghent, after placing a strong garrison in it, and think rather of defending ourselves, than of attacking the enemies.

The great points were to send succours to the besieged, and hinder the besiegers from receiving any from the army of observation. The chevalier de Luxembourg performed the first, and the second was at-

tempted by count de la Mothe, who was defeated at Vinendale. Mean time marshal Boufflers, who was still flattered that he should be succoured, made vigorous sallies upon the besiegers; but no longer hoping that his defence, and the duke of Burgundy's motions would agree, he expected safety only from his own courage. Night and day he was employed; he visited the works, he comforted the wounded, he was present every where. 'Gentlemen,' said he to the officers, 'I confide in you, but I will answer for myself.' A fascine and a skin composed his bed, he was served upon iron, and resolved to eat horse-flesh, rather than give up the place.

Oct. 23. Prince Eugene, who was also in want of provisions, carried on the siege with great vigour, that he might at least be master of the town, before his camp was desolated by famine; he therefore went to give the assault. Marshal Boufflers, who did not expect him, offered to capitulate: all his demands were granted, and he retired into the citadel with four thousand six hundred men.

This news threw the king into the utmost consternation; he had always depended upon Lifle's being succoured, he had

had given express orders for that purpose, he had faithfully promised Boufflers it should, he knew the great importance of that place, he was mortified at the shame this loss reflected upon the nation, and his grandson in particular. ‘He is not accustomed,’ added madame de Maintenon, ‘to see Lisle in the power of his enemies: as for myself, I am most sensibly afflicted for this loss; but I should justly deserve to be made accountable for all the misfortunes I am witness to, if I did not acknowledge the hand of God in them all; and if I did not know that we ought to accept the evil, with the same gratitude with which we have received the good. In the midst of this general dismay and consternation, I find myself one of the most courageous persons in our court.’

Hostilities were renewed, and the Oct. 19th trenches were opened before the citadel. The enemies still sought to open themselves a passage by sea. Prince Eugene, astonished at the indolence of the French army, and secure of completing his conquest, said, ‘I will make the garrison prisoners of war, that such brave men may not be obliged to mix with cowards.’

Eugene’s

Eugene's success was entirely owing to the discouragements under which our troops laboured, and to the dissensions among our generals; and therefore, in a more advanced age, he rejected the praises that were given him on account of this enterprise, too rashly projected to be glorious in the execution.

The elector of Bavaria proposed to make an attempt upon Brussels. He had great dependence upon the friendship which he knew that city had for him: his projects might have succeeded in the middle of the campaign, when the allies were employed in the attack of Lisle, but these happy schemes were never formed at a time when they might be useful.

Although the elector had carried on the siege with such vigour, that the day after the trenches were opened he gave the assault; yet he was obliged to retire upon the approach of the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, who had just passed the Escaut with their whole army, and had put the marquis de Nangis to flight.

Boufflers surrendered, and obtained very favourable terms. 'It is a great honour

‘ honour to me,’ said Eugene to Boufflers,
‘ to have taken Lisle, but it would have
‘ been a greater to have defended it like
‘ you *.’

This event raised the murmurs of all France against the duke of Burgundy. His austere virtue gave offence to the libertines, his declared aversion for the Jansenists exposed him to all the envenomed strokes of that party, who were already capable of scandalizing princes for the glory of God. All that were enemies to the Jesuits were enemies to him ; those who believe that Fenelon had still a party at court, railed at the prince whom they supposed was at the head of that party.

Telemachus was now the subject of every one’s censures. See, cried some, how this man of God has educated the heir of the throne ! see the pacifick king he has formed for us ! formerly our princes did not learn their duties in romances, and in the dreams of devotees ; heroes were their masters, and battles and dangers were the first lessons they taught them.

The duke of Burgundy, said others, suffered Lisle to be taken, that the king
might

* Dangeau’s memoirs.

might be obliged to make peace, which he so ardently loves. Perhaps he supposed that France acquired this place unjustly; and he piously resolved to make restitution of it: perhaps he would not fight, for fear of hurrying unprepared souls to damnation. 'No, no,' replied the duke of Orleans, 'the God of battles has appeared to him in his oratory, and promised to succour Lisle with legions of angels.' 'I should never come to an end,' added madame de Maintenon, 'were I to repeat all that was said against him.'

The dutchess of Burgundy was informed of these scandalous jests: oppressed with shame and grief, she ran to madame de Maintenon, and falling on her neck all in tears, 'Ah! my dear aunt,' said she, 'how sensibly do I feel the misfortunes of France, and with what sorrow does the duke of Burgundy's inglorious conduct fill me!' 'These tears,' said madame de Maintenon to her, 'are too precious to be lost;' and wiping them off with the ribbon of her distaff, she sent it to the duke of Burgundy. Thus did she make use of every thing, to confirm the affection between this princess and her husband.

The duke of Burgundy never thought of justifying himself. He employed no person

person to defend his conduct; his wife suffered him to be ignorant of none of the slanders that were raised against him; and found by his answers, that those slanders were carried from the army to the court, and that he was as little moved with what was said in his camp, as at Versailles. ‘I should believe,’ said he, in one of his letters to his wife, ‘that I should be criminal towards my country and my grandfather, if my sentiments were for one moment such as are attributed to me.’

‘The princess,’ adds madame de Maintenon, ‘did not shew me her husband’s letters; I only saw such articles in them as were but slightly touched: what I have seen of most importance is, that he is greatly interested in the honour and happiness of the king of Spain; however, it is certain that he wishes for peace, and in that surely he cannot be blamed; we should love our princess too well, if we knew all her merit.’

When the duke of Burgundy and marshal Villars returned to court, the prince seemed a private man, and the private man a prince; we were then in that kind of anarchy, when men are judged of and distinguished only by their actions. Boufflers was made a peer of France: he was attended

attended to the parliament by great numbers of the officers who had defended Lisle with him. ‘Gentlemen,’ said he turning towards them, ‘all the favours I receive, all the honours that are bestowed on me, I owe to you; I have no other merit, no other distinction, than in having commanded such brave men*.

CHAPTER VIII.

The year 1709.

FRANCE was at once exhausted by war, and desolated by famine; that winter when men, animals, and trees, perished alike, will be long remembered. The financiers, after reducing Paris to the utmost want, now nourished her. In many cities the inhabitants mutinied, the country was laid waste, and nine millions of taxes were remitted to the people. The king sent his plate to be coined; his grandson had already given him the example; the duke of Burgundy gave away in alms, those sums which were destined for his pleasures;

* The marquis de Dangeau’s memoirs.

and

and the king of Spain confined himself to mere necessities *.

Chamillard, who had exhausted every expedient, now sighed for peace. Desmarêts, to whom he had yielded the management of the finances, declared that he could not furnish supplies for more than one campaign ; the general officers had no longer courage or hope. The king was the only person who did not think Marlborough and Eugene invincible ; he attributed all his losses to the inability or disunion of those who had commanded his armies ; he knew that one victory was sufficient to break a league.

But the king, sensibly afflicted at the misery of his people, determined to ask for peace, and to prefer the welfare of his

* The following is a letter from madame de Maintenon to the princess Des Ursins. ' Every body here seems to approve of your not recalling the *menines* ; they are not so necessary to the king as his troops : and in a conjuncture like this, it is the wisest way to get rid of them. I do not doubt but the *grandses* will complain of this conduct ; abatements in expence are approved of in general, but no individual is willing that abatement should fall upon him. I am rejoiced that you have no longer three hundred women to govern.'

king-

kingdom to the glory of his family. He had already made some attempts to withdraw the duke of Savoy from the confederacy; that prince being embroiled with prince Eugene, dissatisfied with the emperor, and fallen into devotion, which however, did not awaken in him the sentiments of nature. Lewis had proposed to the pope, to form a league with the duke of Savoy in Italy; but Victor-Amadeus, weary of betraying his allies, rejected these propositions: and Clement XI. replied, that he could no otherwise concur in the pacification of Europe, than by his prayers.

This common father of Christians, always a friend to the most powerful, had, when the archduke wasted the kingdom of Naples, acknowledged him for king of Spain; but he wrote to Philip V. that by acknowledging his competitor, he gave him no new right: an apology as insulting as offensive,

The king, now reduced to humble himself before his enemies, sent the president Rouillé and the marquis de Torcy to the Hague, to know upon what condition the allies would grant him peace. Heinsius, the pensionary of Holland, being gained over by Marlborough and Eugene, the
mini-

ministers of Lewis received from the states only general professions of respect and repeated hardships. The king offered to abandon his grandson ; the allies insisted as a preliminary that he should dethrone him.

When the marquis de Torcy returned to France great debates arose in the council ; but all agreed, that whether peace or war was resolved on, the troops from Spain ought to be recalled, and all the forces of the French monarchy should be united to defend the frontiers ; some of the counsellors even insinuated that peace could not be purchased at too high a price, and Chamillard declared that the kingdom would be given up to pillage in six months. ‘ Well,’ replied the king, who had hitherto listened in silence, ‘ be that as it may.’

The unreasonable preliminaries * exacted by the insolent enemy were made known in the armies and provinces. All, who had any French blood in their veins, were enraged ; from that moment the glo-

* The author of the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth, to bring in a fine phrase, assures us that these preliminaries were posted up in every street of Paris. It is very surprising, however, that he should be the only person who saw this.

ry of the monarch became the glory of the nation.

The people who had been depressed with their losses, were now animated to new courage by despair. All, even the courtiers, breathed a citizen spirit. In the provinces, where the famine raged with most violence, the youth ran in crowds to enlist themselves, in hopes of finding provisions in the army. Villars, whom envy incessantly employed all her efforts to exclude from service, was sent to command in Flanders; and Boufflers, although a more ancient marshal of France than him, went to serve under him.

When the Spaniards were informed of the propositions made by Lewis, and those which he had rejected, they declared that it was not the king of France who had given them a king, and it should not be him who should deprive them of one: however the princess Des Ursins had orders from the court of France to prepare Philip V. for this abdication.

The grandees now turned their eyes upon the duke of Orleans, whose thoughts were wholly employed upon enforcing his claim. Madame Des Ursins, apprehensive that the presence of the prince would
augment

augment the number of his partizans, prevailed upon Philip to write to his grandfather, and intreat him not to send the duke of Orleans again into Spain. The duke, offended at this affront, ordered Deslandes, his agent at Madrid, to cultivate the favourable sentiments which some of the grandees entertained for him. Deslandes, a man of great subtlety and resolution, at first openly mentioned his master's rights, and afterwards caballed in secret to support them.

When he founded the inclinations of the Spaniards, he thought he could perceive that they would not only prefer the duke of Orleans to the archduke Charles, but also to Philip V. His project advanced daily; the duke of Orleans neither ordered nor forbid him to act according to the new hopes he had received; but neither he nor his creatures any longer declared in France that it was impossible to preserve Spain.

Mean time the inhabitants of Paris murmured at the scarcity of bread; they sent some of the worst to madame de Maintenon, and threatened to stone her. 'It is better,' said she, 'that they should murmur against me than against their master *.'

* Madame de Bouju's Memoirs.

Madame de Maintenon was never more hated by the people, and was never more deserving of their love. She distributed money with an unsparing hand ; she provided for the Ursuline nuns of Mantes and Niort, the Benedictines of Bizy and Moret, and the Bernardines of Gomer-fontaine. Those whom the recital of good works engage to do them, will not think the following detail tedious, in which one of madame de Maintenon's pupils gives an artless account of the charities to which she was a witness.

‘ Madame wept when ever she thought
‘ of the misery the people endured ; and
‘ she thought of it every day. If I have
‘ been so happy as to gain her esteem, I
‘ owe it to the compassion she heard me
‘ express for a gentleman, whose daughter
‘ was in the community of Saint-Cyr.’
‘ The people,’ said she to me, ‘ ought to
‘ love me ; for I love them tenderly, and
‘ would willingly offer myself to God to satisfy
‘ his justice, by which France is punished.

‘ She caused bread and other provisions, with beds and coverings, to be
‘ distributed among the poor in the parish of Versailles. She would often go
‘ herself to distribute them, and always
‘ endeavoured to conceal herself from their
know-

‘knowledge.’ ‘I am very unfortunate, said she one day to me, ‘what little good I do is known to every body.’ ‘She often came home without her gloves and scarf, having given them to the beggars she met in her way. She reproached herself for all her own expences, saying, This I owe to our poor.

‘When she could not visit those families of whom she particularly took care, she used to send me to them, and was more attentive to the news I brought from them than to the discourse of the ministers upon state-affairs. When she met with any trouble or disappointment she would go and see her poor. Among them her countenance expressed a surprising chearfulness, which vanished the moment she entered the court.

‘I went one day with her to visit the widow of a lieutenant-governor; this woman, not knowing madame de Maintenon, instantly rose, and, then resuming her seat, related all her misfortunes to her. I asked her if she had not applied to madame de Maintenon for relief?’ ‘Yes,’ answered she, ‘a valet de chambre has promised me to present a petition to her; she is said to be a very charitable lady; but I have not been able to go to her myself;

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‘ self; I am faint for want of food, and
‘ have eat nothing these two days. Ma-
‘ dame de Maintenon burst into tears,
‘ gave her a considerable sum of money,
‘ and supported her till she died, without ever
‘ letting her know who was her benefactor.’

‘ Madame de Maintenon enquired her-
‘ self for nurses for poor children, and re-
‘ warded them liberally when they brought
‘ them to her in good health. In her jour-
‘ nies, when she met any poor women
‘ upon the road who looked sickly, she
‘ took them into her coach. I could not
‘ bear to sit near them; but madame saw
‘ them without disgust; on her arrival she
‘ would order them victuals, and gave them
‘ money when they went away. Certainly,
‘ said she often to me, God is infinitely
‘ good to promise to reward our charities,
‘ since in themselves they are a sufficient
‘ reward.’

‘ When the court was at Fontainebleau,
‘ she went almost every day to the village
‘ of Avon. Having stopped once at a
‘ house belonging to the count de Toulouse,
‘ she would not walk in the gardens, say-
‘ ing, I must keep my strength to visit my
‘ poor. At Avon she used to employ her-
‘ self in teaching the catechism to the chil-
‘ dren,

‘dren, in bestowing charities, and in marrying the young people.

‘Madame once said to me, the king says
‘I kill myself with fatigue at Avon; yet if
‘I am now capable of enjoying any amusement it is in visiting my peasants. I am
‘pleased with every thing that passes in
‘their houses; their conversation delights me; a trifle relieves their distress;
‘a trifle excites their joy; is not this employment better than to sit and listen to
‘the calumnies of these ladies here, against
‘each other, or to the complaints made
‘by the generals against the ministers?

‘I have slept till seven o’clock to-day,
‘which seldom happens, for madame runs
‘in the morning to church, and from
‘thence goes to visit her philosophers at
‘Avon. They are so familiar with her
‘that they turn her about, push her, and
‘throw themselves upon her petticoats,
‘continually admiring her royal hands,
‘which they always see full of money.

‘She is at play to-day in her cabinet,
‘and plays for them. She is pious in her
‘amusements as well as her labours, and
‘filled with a love of God so ardent, that
‘it sometimes draws tears from my eyes.

‘ All this is incomprehensible, for most people here have hearts of steel.’

While madame de Maintenon relieved some miserable wretches, she inspired the king with a desire to relieve all by a speedy peace. Marshal Villars reduced the allies to the necessity of laying siege to Tournay; and covered Arras and Douay, which if taken would have laid France open to the enemy.

Sep. 11. Tournay being taken, Marlborough and Eugene passed the Scheld, and threatened Mons. Villars was some time in doubt whether he should offer them battle. His army was superiour to that of the enemy, part of their troops being still under Tournay; but this army was the last resource of France. Marlborough was, or appeared to be more bold; he attacked the French in their intrenchments at Malplaquet, and a bloody battle ensued.

The French were victorious from eight o'clock in the morning till noon; but the enemy, who had been repulsed in the three first attacks, entered the intrenchments at the fourth. Marshal Villars hastens to the fight, drives them back, is wounded in the knee, and carried out of the throng. The allies penetrate into the center; six times

times they are vigorously charged by the household troops, and six times they rally, favoured by their infantry. The intrenchments at length are forced, and Boufflers founded a retreat, which he performed with as much order as he had shewn valour in the action.

If Villars had not been wounded the battle would have been gained; but if Boufflers had not condescended to be his aid de camp, France would have been ruined: valour defended our country, but it was virtue that saved it.

The allies accused Villars of having wounded himself; and the French said, that his hurt was very inconsiderable, and that he had withdrawn too soon: however, he was so ill that it was thought necessary to administer the sacraments to him. His friends proposed that he should perform this ceremony privately. 'No,' replied he, 'since the army did not see Villars fall like a soldier, it is fit they should see him die like a christian.'

The enemy laid siege to Mons, and took it. Notwithstanding this disadvantage the battle of Malplaquet was glorious and useful to France: it restored the reputation of the French arms, which had fallen

into contempt; it raised the courage of our troops, and gave fears to the enemy; it raised the value of those little victories, which the count du Bourg, the marquis de Bai, and the duke de Noailles, gained at Ramersheim, at Gudina, and at Figuières: we were reduced to that deplorable extremity, when hope is nourished by the most inconsiderable successes.

CHAPTER XI.

Proposals for peace. The affairs of Spain.

1710. **L**ewis, after having demanded peace, was reduced to beg it, and after having begged it, to purchase it. He sent marshal d'Huxelles and the abbé de Polignac to Gertrudenburg, a little town where the allies consented to treat. If it had been possible to have procured peace upon advantageous terms, these two plenipotentiaries would have done it. The sincerity and frankness of Huxelles, were happily tempered by the engaging manners and consummate address of Polignac, the first man of the age for eloquence and the art of negociation.

Marshal

Marſhal d'Huxelles, impatient, bold, and preſumptuous, was well fitted to repreſent the perſon of a king, who, in the miſt of all his reverſes of fortune, ſtill preſerved his former haughtineſs; and France had as proper a repreſentative in Polignac, demanding favour, but not willing to accept it upon ſhameful conditions, and full of hopes ſtill to obtain it honourably, by her ſword or by her ſkill.

Their firſt offers were, that Lewis XIV. ſhould abandon his grandſon, and all the acquiſitions he had made during the war. The allies deſpiſed theſe offers, and inſiſted that the king himſelf ſhould take the crown of Spain from his grandſon, and place it on the head of the archduke. The two plenipotentiaries afterwards offered the good offices of their maſter with Philip V. to prevail upon him to make a voluntary abdication; and at length they agreed to furniſh money and troops, to oblige him to it.

Then it was that a Dutch wit published a ſatire, intitled *The king of France at the knees of Holland*. It was a parody on a lyric poem of La Volpilliere's, the title of which was *Holland at the knees of the king of France*. Theſe two pieces ſhew to what

insolence of pride, prosperity will carry the most polite, as well as the most moderate people; for they expressed the natural sentiments of each nation, in the same circumstances.

But the English, as awkward in jesting as brave in the field, shewed most eagerness to insult our misfortunes. Their gazettes * were full of feigned letters from the abbe de Polignac, the marquis de Torcy, and particularly from madame de Maintenon, which they pretended had been intercepted; they ascribed submissions the most humiliating for Lewis the Fourteenth, to those who were the nearest witnesses of his courage and fortitude.

The allies were inflexible. Marlborough, who feared nothing but a peace, made demands which were likely to eternize a war, in which he acquired glory; and what he loved still better, money, which, it was reported, he destined for an enterprize, chimerical without doubt, if men were not to be purchased.

The allies demanded that Lewis the Fourteenth should, by his own arms, in the space of two months, dethrone his grandson, and relinquish all the provinces with which his kingdom had been aggran-

* See the Craftsman,

dised since the reign of Francis the First : what more could they have exacted, if they had penetrated into the heart of France? The conferences were broke off ; and the nation resolved to shed still more blood, since blood must be shed.

The extravagant and unjust demands of the allies, were condemned by all wise politicians : an opportunity of humbling a powerful people seldom presents itself twice ; but bishop Burnet ventured to maintain, that the king of France ought in conscience to have accepted these conditions ; since it was he who had committed the evil, it was his part to make reparation for it. This man found in every page of his gospel, sentences against Lewis the Fourteenth.

In Flanders the French lost towns, and the allies lost men ; but in Spain the battle of Saragossa, gained by Staremberg, forced Philip the Fifth to leave Madrid a second time. Lewis had withdrawn his troops from Spain ; the dukes of Vendôme and Noailles were now sent to that kingdom ; the grandes deliberated concerning the rank that was to be given to the duke of Vendôme. ‘ I shall be satisfied with any rank,’ said Vendôme to them, ‘ I do not come to dispute prece-

‘ dence with you, but to preserve your
‘ king.’

After the arrival of these two generals, the face of affairs was entirely changed. The Spaniards chose rather to burn their corn-fields and provisions, than to supply the Imperialists with them; the archduke was again driven out of Madrid; Balaguer was surprised and its fortress raised by Louvigny; Brihuega was seized by the duke of Vendôme; Lampourdan was occupied by the duke de Noailles, who had lately saved the province of Languedoc, and preserved it with those troops only which he had raised upon his own credit; count Staremberg was defeated at Villaviciosa, Philip fixed upon the throne of Spain, and put into a condition to maintain himself on it by his own forces.

During these events, the court of France was full of intrigues, which were likely to have a great influence upon the general state of affairs. The king declared his intention of marrying the duke of Berry; the duke and dutchess of Orleans offered their daughter; the dutchess of Burgundy proposed the princess of England*,

* Louisa-Maria Stuart, daughter of James II. who died April 18, 1712, in the twentieth year of her age.

as well through her friendship for this princess, as her hatred to the duke of Orleans. Madame de Maintenon was exposed to the importunate solicitations of both parties, and endeavoured to reconcile them, but in vain.

The queen of England conjured her to form those ties, which would secure to her unfortunate family the protection of France. Madame de Maintenon's friendship for this queen, her compassion for the princess her daughter, her aversion to the princess of Orleans, whose beauty was indeed faultless, but her reputation not unblemished, all inclined her to serve the queen of England in this affair; but the good of the state opposed these sentiments. Such an alliance must necessarily be displeasing to queen Anne, with whom a secret negotiation was carrying on at that time, and whom it was necessary to marry with great caution, although since the death of her son, she seemed to indulge the pleasure of believing she had a brother. She affected to enter into the passions of her people, and shewed her indifference for the proscribed family, by breaking off the negotiations. France had need of the support or compassion of all nations; and this marriage would

have irritated the most powerful and the most implacable.

The dutchess of Burgundy, swayed more by the motions of her own heart, than by reasons of state, incessantly extolled the merit of her friend, and decried the princefs of Orleans. The duke of Orleans sometimes admitted his daughter to his voluptuous suppers; there, notwithstanding the respect that is due to youth, many free expressions escaped him, which sunk deep into the mind of a young girl naturally inclined to gallantry. Madame de Marey, governess to the young princefs, had gained her affection by compliances with her humour, rather than merited it by a judicious severity.

Madame de Maintenon had been informed of some little imprudences in the conduct of the princefs, and the governess had been severely reprimanded for her neglect. The dutchess of Burgundy once resolved to acquaint the king, with what she knew to the disadvantage of the princefs of Orleans: but the king had so plainly declared against the marriage of the duke of Berry with the princefs of England, that she was apprehensive of weakening her own interest with him, without hurting her enemy.

Al-

Already a woman of quality had been threatened with banishment from the court, for having innocently rallied the chevalier de St. George upon the melancholy of his sister, who was shut up in the convent at Chaillot, and hinted something relating to this marriage. The duke of Orleans vowed an eternal hatred to the dutchess of Burgundy; and, secure that his daughter's marriage with the duke of Berry would take place, he waited with indifference till the king proposed it to him.

When the marriage was declared, it gave general surprise, that a son of France should espouse the granddaughter of madame de Montespan. The nuptials were celebrated without joy; the dutchess of Burgundy was desired to regulate the household of her sister-in-law: the dutchess of Orleans, who afterwards disputed precedence with the dutchess of Berry, then yielded it to her without murmuring. Both happening to be at the door, the dutchess of Orleans insisted upon the dutchess of Berry's going out first: 'You must push me then, madam,' said the dutchess of Berry, 'for it will be long e'er I can consent to take way of my grandmother.'

While

While the duke of Orleans was thus successful in the court of France, his ambition raised a storm against him in the court of Spain, in which he narrowly escaped ruin. Miguel de Pons accused Deslandes to madame Des Ursins of having entered into a conspiracy against Philip the Fifth. The princess Des Ursins ran eagerly to the king of Spain's apartment, exaggerated the danger, the atrociousness of the crime, and the number of the accomplices. Deslandes was arrested at Golomede: Flotte his friend was taken in a town of Arragon. Among their papers was found a long memoir upon the means of securing the crown of Spain to the duke of Orleans. When confronted with Miguel de Pons, they denied their having any design to dethrone Philip the Fifth, but owned that they had caballed for the duke of Orleans against the archduke.

At this news, several of the grandees laid a scheme to deliver Flotte and Deslandes from prison, lest, allured by promises, or intimidated by threats, they should be prevailed upon to reveal the names of their accomplices. Grimaldo the secretary of state was informed of their design. The princess Des Ursins, either because

because she was really alarmed, or wanted an excuse for her cruelty, shewed great uneasiness and terror, caused the prisoners to be transferred to the tower of Segovia, and confined in separate dungeons.

The duke of Medina-Celi, being convicted of having favoured the archduke, was suspected of having sold his interest to the duke of Orleans. Don Manrique-Lara, an old general officer and *menin* to the queen-mother, was led publicly to prison. He confessed that he had entered into the designs of Deslandes, but affirmed that these designs supposed the voluntary abdication of Philip the Fifth: in effect, the memoir which had been found among his papers began thus, *If Philip the Fifth should abandon us.*

Antonio de Villa-Roel and several other noblemen, being convinced that there was a design to arrest them, put themselves under the protection of the archduke. It was then no longer doubted, that the schemes of the conspirators were rather to dethrone Philip than exclude the archduke. It was affirmed, that Deslandes was to be sent to Portugal; that his friends were to set fire to Madrid in four different places; that Flotte was to seize upon Lerida; that Villa-Roel was to make an insurrection in
Ar-

Arragon; and that the duke of Orleans was to leave the court of France secretly, head his party, and treat with the maritime powers, who were disgusted with the archduke, for the succession to Spain.

These reports flew from mouth to mouth; all was repeated, exaggerated, and believed. In Spain the publick suspected the truth of a plot, which had been discovered by the princess Des Ursins; in France, where no one is criminal by halves, the duke of Orleans was accused of the blackest treachery. Some asserted that he had designed to dismember the monarchy, others that he aspired to the whole succession. It was not doubted, but his accomplices had already suffered a cruel death; and every one was persuaded, that the prince himself would be sent to the Bastile.

In the midst of the affirmations of truth, with the calumnies of envy and malice, the duke of Orleans, terrified with the most dreadful apprehensions, yet full of seeming confidence and security, was more assiduous than ever in his attendance at court; saw himself shunned, detested, scorned, and said not one word in his own defence.

The

The king, fully convinced of his nephew's guilt, was going to sign an order for arresting him, when madame de Maintenon, who in an affair so delicate and obscure, had imposed silence upon herself, engaged monsieur Voisin to pacify the king. Voisin represented to him, that the depositions against the prince were vague and uncertain; that, in a matter of such great consequence, precipitate measures might be dangerous, but that caution could not.

Madame de Maintenon never boasted of this service to the duke of Orleans, yet doubtless she thought of it, when she afterwards said, 'Ah, if the duke of Orleans knew all the obligations he has to me!' Faithful to the neutrality she had resolved to observe, she answered the dutchess of Burgundy, who, giving free vent to her rage against the accused prince, endeavoured to make her declare herself likewise to his prejudice, 'The respect I owe to the king's nephew, will not permit me to speak;' and to the dutchess of Orleans, who conjured her to protect her son, 'The respect I owe to Philip the Fifth obliges me to silence.'

The duke of Orleans was now abandoned by his friends: the abbé du Bois
was

was the only person who ventured to defend him. The abbé affirmed, that the design of dethroning Philip the Fifth, was a chimera and a malicious calumny; that Deslandes was an enemy only to the arch-duke; that he had no orders for caballing as he had done; and that his only crime was the having offended madame Des Ursins: however this may be, the king intreated his grandson to drop the affair.

This moderation, and the seeming reconciliation between the king of Spain and the duke of Orleans, would have rendered the fact doubtful, if the silence of the accused prince had not tacitly acknowledged his guilt. How far that guilt was carried is still uncertain; perhaps he was only guilty of having supported his pretensions to the crown of Spain, unknown to the king of France and Philip V. perhaps his agent had exceeded his orders.

But if the duke of Orleans had been innocent, would he not have disapproved the undertaking of his friends? would he not have demanded that his conduct should be strictly examined into? would he not have solicited either for the enlargement or punishment of Flotte and Deslandes? would he have permitted his uncle to entertain suspicions so dishonourable to him? would he not at least have
jus-

justified himself to Lewis? would a man, so jealous of his reputation, have suffered all Europe to look upon him as a traitor?

It was pretended, that the king was at last convinced he had wronged his nephew by his suspicions; and this the favourers of that prince attempted to prove, by the king's desiring his grandson, some time before his death, to release the conspirators. But this desire was rather an effect of his policy, than his conviction of the duke's innocence; and it is certain, that, in the year 1713, he was not yet undeceived.

The king, about that time, was desirous of concluding a double marriage between the duke of Bourbon and mademoiselle de Conti, and the prince of Conti and mademoiselle de Bourbon; and being informed that the duke of Orleans was secretly endeavouring to traverse the design, he sent for him into his cabinet, and thus spoke to him, 'I am surprised, monsieur, that, after having pardoned you for an action which might have affected your life, you should have the insolence and ingratitude, to cabal in my own family against me.'

It was to the negotiations of the duke de Noailles, that the king of Spain owed the

1711.

the succours he then received from France; and it was likewise to the courage and resolution of that nobleman, that he owed the surrender of Gironne. This town, which had by mere fortuitous events been delivered from several sieges, hoped to be now preserved by the immediate assistance of heaven. The camp of the besiegers had, by very extraordinary and unusual rains, been overflowed; forty seven squadrons, and eight battalions were shut up by the waters, without bread or forage. The duke de Noailles struggled against the fury of the elements; his friends conjured him to raise the siege, but he still continued it; a cannon-ball fell close to him, as he was examining a battery erected against the Gironelle tower, from which the trenches had suffered greatly. The duke, when he heard the whistling of the ball, said to Rigolo, who commanded the artillery and was deaf, 'did you hear this musick?' 'I never', replied Rigolo, 'give any attention to what comes from the enemy, my thoughts are fixed upon what we send to them.'

When the rains had ceased, the lower town was attacked and carried by storm, and three days afterwards the upper town surrendered upon terms; and Arragon was totally reduced under the obedience of Philip the Fifth.

This

This action was so great and so important in itself, flattery so exaggerated every glorious circumstance of it, the duke de Noailles had then so few enemies, that it was thought he would have been created a marshal of France; but madame de Maintenon, who with ardor solicited this reward for her friend, said not a word in favour of her nephew.

CHAPTER X.

Negotiations. The Campaign of Flanders. Congress of Utrecht.

IN Flanders the duke of Marlborough, 1711. restrained by the orders of queen Anne, endeavoured in vain to draw marshal Villars to a battle, and only took Bouchain. The whig ministry, of which Marlborough was the soul, was driven out by the tories. His friends lost their employments, and his wife was in disgrace with the queen.

The English had begun to perceive that they only supported the expences of a war, by which they alone had nothing to gain; how-

however the article of the treaties were precise; an establishment must be procured for the archduke. The duke of Marlborough had still many powerful friends; the offers of Lewis were recent, and he had not by victories acquired a right to retract them.

Queen Anne was therefore obliged to observe the settled system; but her council now pursued those measures through decency which they had formerly pursued through resentment. England had hitherto employed all her forces; she was now sparing of them; she had animated the league; she now contented herself with seconding it; she had dictated all the particular treaties; she now laughed at the project of invading and dividing France.

The queen, delivered from the tyranny of the dutchess of Marlborough*, and wholly swayed by the councils of Mrs. Masham, who was secretly a jacobite, waited for an opportunity to put an end to a war upon which her conscience had been alarmed. Perhaps she had an esteem for the protector of her unfortunate brother;

* The author of the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth attributes the dutchess of Marlborough's disgrace to a female quarrel about a pair of gloves. See other causes of it in the dutchess of Marlborough's own *Memoirs*.

perhaps

perhaps she hoped that a peace would furnish her with expedients for re-establishing the Stuarts upon the throne, and excluding the foreign prince whom the act of succession called to it.

The death of the emperor Joseph wound Ap. 17. up this bloody tragedy; he left no sons, and the archduke Charles, his brother, was his only heir. When the duke of Savoy heard of this news, he shut himself up three days, to deliberate upon the resolution he ought to take. Queen Anne was overjoyed at an incident that was likely to give her peace. The princes of the empire, notwithstanding that natural aversion which vassals always feel for a too powerful lord, acknowledged the archduke for emperor of Germany and king of Spain. By politicians it was thought that Europe would never suffer another Charles V. The Dutch either through that slowness in changing their plan of politicks, which is a fault peculiar to republicks, or through the hope of acquiring the sovereignty of the Low-Countries, promised the Austrians to observe inviolably the treaty of the grand alliance.

When surprise had given place to reflection, the most inveterate enemies of France perceived that fortune would raise again
her

her sinking state, and that policy made it necessary she should not be absolutely depressed. The archduke Charles united in his person that power which Lewis XIV. had divided among his family. The archduke was now become the enemy of the European ballance, and all its nations ought now to join against this universal monarch with so much the more ardor, as that in taking arms against Lewis XIV. they fought for their posterity, but at present for themselves. A million of men had fallen to prevent an uncertain event; and the death of one man had produced it.

The abbé Gautier, who carried on his negotiation with vigor at the court of London, enforced these considerations with all the art of a politician. It was said, that queen Anne's ministers had been bribed by Lewis; but at a time when France was scarce able to support her king, how was it possible she should find money to pay traitors of this high rank?

The contempt which Lewis expressed for lord Bolingbroke is a sufficient proof that he was not in the number of his pensioners: a service of that kind would have engaged the gratitude of this prince; nor could all the detestation due to treachery have

have hindered that gratitude from shewing itself; however, if we may judge of Bolingbroke's character by his *Memoirs*, he appears capable of any thing.

The conferences, which were resumed by Ménager and Prior, ended in offered preliminaries, in which there was nothing humiliating for France. Lord Strafford communicated them to the allies, who complained of this particular peace as of a publick infraction of that article in the grand alliance, which admitted only a general one. The English minister was more certain of being able to force them to subscribe to a peace, than of persuading his own nation to consent to it.

Marlborough, to whom his own interests were very precious, and those of humankind very indifferent, breathed nothing but war, and asserted that this peace was disgraceful to the nation. The ineffectual clamours of his party against it were at length reduced to cavils at the conditions. The duke of Marlborough lost all his employments: an inconsiderable loss after so many glorious and lucrative campaigns, and in that happy country where a man is still something, notwithstanding the frown of his prince.

The people did not regret the fall of a citizen, whose sword was now become

useless to them, and whose counsels were dangerous. The wife, who admired the hero, but could pity the man of honour only, remembered that Marlborough had been the friend of James II. and had carried his submission to him so far as to favour his amour with Mrs. Churchill *, his sister, and had rather betrayed than quitted that unfortunate prince †, that he had been justly in disgrace with king William; and that, when loaded with honours and riches by queen Anne, he had continually caballed against her.

1712. The congress was held at Utrecht; all the princes except Philip V. sent their ministers thither. They disputed about trifles, while the articles of greatest importance were discussed in the cabinets of Versailles and London. Mean time hostilities were continued; the Imperialists flattered themselves that one successful campaign would carry them into the heart of

* Fitz-James, duke of Berwick and marshal of France, was the fruit of this amour.

† King James used afterwards to call him, *monseigneur* is it possible, because at the time when this favourite resolved to abandon him, it was by those words that he expressed his astonishment and indignation against such as went over to the party of the prince of Orange.

France;

France; and that from thence they might dictate conditions of peace either with the participation of England or without it.

The invasion, with which the kingdom was threatened, did not permit the French to indulge hopes from preliminaries which a battle would annul. Already the earl of Albemarle had made a daring attempt upon Arras, and had burned the magazines in the suburbs. Already prince Eugene had got possession of Queſnoi. A general consternation was spread over Paris; and the king, sending for marshal Villars, thus spoke to him,

‘ You see the extremity to which we are reduced; we must vanquish or die; let us conclude with one bold stroke at least; find out the enemy, marshal, and give them battle.’

Villars, with great emotion, replied, ‘ Sire, this is your last army.’ ‘ No matter,’ resumed the king, ‘ I do not require you to beat the enemy, but to attack them; if the battle is lost write to me, and me only: give your courier orders to address himself only to Blouin.’ Villars listened to this speech in silence, not knowing the king’s purpose. ‘ I will mount my horse,’ continued the king,

‘I will ride through the streets of Paris
‘with your letter in my hand; I know the
‘French; I will bring you four hundred
‘thousand men; and with them will I
‘bury myself under the ruins of the mo-
‘narchy.’

These words, which painted so well the ardent soul of Lewis, filled marshal Villars with admiration; he took pleasure in often repeating them, and introduced them in his speech, upon his being received into the academy*.

Prince Eugene now invested Landrecy, and drew his convoys of provisions from Marchiennes under the protection of his camp at Denain. The duke of Ormond, who had succeeded the duke of Marlborough in his command, separated his troops from those of the allies: a suspension of arms between France and England for two months was published, and Dunkirk was put into the hands of the English as a security. This incident animated the cou-

* The king, walking with some noblemen who were going to the army, said to them, ‘If you are beat, I
‘will come to your assistance, I have the honour to be
‘the oldest soldier in my kingdom.’ ‘And the best,’
replied the marquis d’Antin.

rage

rage of the French, and depressed the Imperialists.

Marshal Montesquiou proposed to march towards Chatillon-sur-Sambre, in order to deceive prince Eugene, by threatening to fall upon the camp at Landrecy. Villars, rejected this advice with disdain, and followed it punctually. All his measures tended to give a false alarm to prince Eugene, who fell into the snare, and was defeated. Denain was stormed, Marchiennes taken, Landrecy delivered, Saint-Amand, Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain surrendered ; and all these successes cost us less than they had cost the enemy.

The courtiers, this once by envy made just, joined with all the officers in attributing the glory of this campaign to Montesquiou. Villars, enraged that the merit of the noblest action in his life should be thus ravished from him, asserted that his rival had been only the confident and the minister of a scheme which he had projected. When the king perceived Villars enter the gardens of Marly, he went to meet him ; and, embracing him, said, ‘ I am charmed with your conduct ; you have preserved France.’ ‘ Gentlemen,’ said Villars, turning to the courtiers, ‘ you hear however what the king says.’

The French plenipotentiaries no longer treated with the allies in the style of suppliants, and in a few conferences the jarring interests of so many different princes were conciliated. The princess Des Ursins, retarded the signing of the treaties, by demanding for herself and her heirs the entire sovereignty of lands in the dutchy of Luxembourg, of which the yearly rent amounted to a hundred thousand livres. The king of Spain declared, that he would give up the Low-Countries only upon this condition. England accepted this article; the Dutch were ready to comply with it; but madame de Maintenon, who languished for peace, prevailed upon the princess Des Ursins to relinquish a demand which was likely to delay it.

These several treaties were so carelessly discussed, and expressed with so little precision, that the articles of this pacification are at present the occasion of a war.

The emperor complained of his allies for signing the treaties without his participation. He remained firm during a whole year in a *moderate* demand of the whole Spanish monarchy. Madame de Maintenon, perceiving the king to be in great concern for the continuation of the war,

war, represented to him, that this war was nothing in comparison with that which he had lately supported against all Europe united. 'It is not the war for which I am afflicted,' replied the king, 'it is for the misery of the people.'

The treaty of Rastat put an end to hostilities. The king, being desirous to shew the lady of marshal Villars how greatly he was satisfied with the conduct of her husband, who had signed it, said to her, 'Madam, my joy is now complete.' The foreigners in Paris were charmed with the harmony which subsisted between the monarch and his subjects. 'If I could love any king,' said an Englishman, 'I should love this king.'



BOOK THE FIFTEENTH.

FRANCE must necessarily be always engaged in a war either for glory or religion. When ambition suffered the harrassed people to breathe again, zeal eagerly seized the first opportunity to deprive them of that short tranquillity. Thus blind and greedy mortals, instead of living happily on earth, pass their anxious days in contending for small parts of it ; or make use of the staff, which God has given them for their support, in acting violences upon themselves.

While the English permitted France to enjoy the sweets of peace, the clergy tore her bowels with a war, which rages still. I am now to give an account of these theological disputes, which policy by endeavouring

vouring to allay instead of despising them, has rendered interesting and important, if any one may be expected to write impartially on such a subject it is he,

*Qui sorti d' Israël,
N' invoque ni Baal, ni le Dieu d' Ismaël.*

Who having left Israel,
Invokes neither Baal, nor the God of
Ismael.

CHAPTER I.

The death of father de la Chaise. Father le Tellier.

THE Jansenists, although often condemned by the church, had still escaped its thunders; not daring to separate from the holy see, nor willing to submit to it, they had received all the bulls, and all were eluded by them; their distinctions between an heretical and orthodox sense, between an error in fact and an error in will, had produced that awful silence

which a pope, who was a greater friend to peace than truth, had enjoined. This silence was at length broke by the two parties, and was condemned by Clement XI.

A priest named Quênél, a disciple of St. Cyran and of Arnaud, who had deserted the congregation of the oratory, and taken refuge in Holland, published the New Testament with moral reflections. It was approved by several bishops, even Innocent XII. to whom it was denounced, declared that he found none of the heresies of Jansenism in it. Cardinal Noailles in a mandate recommended the reading of it to his whole diocese. The Jesuits, finding editions of it were multiplied, suspected that the book contained a secret poison, which in the eyes of some ultramontains was already very visible, since it put the holy scripture into every body's hands. These pious men thought a book very dangerous which was inspired by God.

The bishop of Chartres, tho' he permitted madame de Maintenon to read this book, saw Jansenius in Quênél, and condemned the *Moral Reflections*. He earnestly intreated cardinal Noailles to correct his mandate; the archbishop of Paris thanked him for his advice, but did not profit by it. The
great

great Bossuet had often recommended the reading of Quênél's Testament ; but whether he foresaw that it would be condemned, or discovered his mistake, he solicited cardinal Noailles to retract his mandate, or to correct the book.

Madame de Maintenon was alarmed, and conjured the cardinal to comply ; however she neither declared for the Jansenists nor for their enemies, and when each party endeavoured to gain her, her answer was, *I am only a papist* ; and this was enough.

Bossuet, being apprehensive that the cardinal's pride would suffer too much from a formal recantation, proposed to him to write a preface to the book, in which some of the propositions should be explained. The archbishop approved of this expedient, and Bossuet wrote the preface, which was sent to Quênél. That priest, whose vanity was soothed by the approbation of cardinal Noailles, took offence at the bishop of Meaux's criticisms, and answered haughtily, that his book had no need of any correction ; however the cardinal did correct a few words in it, but the bishop of Chartres foretold that the whole would be condemned at Rome.

In the mean time, this book gave a pretence for the divisions that broke out among the clergy. If the cardinal had been able to prevail with father Quénel, to make some alterations in his book, his enemies would have soon raised him a more powerful opposer. Jansenism may possibly be a real evil, but this prelate considered it as a heresy only at court : if it had been confined to Châlons, or if it had permitted the Jesuits to govern despotically at Paris, it would have been orthodox.

1708. Several divines demanded of the pope, the condemnation of the *Moral Reflections*, which his holiness readily granted. These vague censures are greatly despised in France ; and this was by the Jansenists thought ridiculous, and insufficient by the Molinists. Hence arose those ardent disputes, those bitter altercations ; the priests, instead of executing the Testament of Jesus Christ, uncharitably quarrelled with each other concerning that of Quénel.

Father de la Chaise bending under the weight of years, and too near the grave to hate with violence, left the cardinal in peace, but both parties formed intrigues to nominate the king's confessor. Among the clergy, those who owed their preferments

ments to the Jesuits, desired to be freed from the yoke which gratitude imposed upon them; and those who had no obligations to them, exclaimed against the tyranny of an order, which expected the most absolute resignation to their will.

Whoever, said they, opposes the ambition of this society, is suspected and oppressed. If a prince makes a secular priest his confessor, he has only the desires of one man to gratify; but if he chuses a regular priest for that office, he is persecuted with the solicitations of a whole society, of all the members who compose it, and of all strangers who favour it; and the order of the Jesuits is more attentive to its own aggrandizement than any other order: they have monopolised all the colleges, and the greater part of the seminaries; they are absolutely devoted to the pope, and being masters of all benefices, they necessarily become so of the church and its tenets.

To this their partisans replied, that a priest who had renounced the world, was to be preferred to a priest who would have as many interested friends as the most numerous religious order had members; that since the time of father Coton, the Gallican church had been well governed,
and

and carefully guarded from error ; that the Jesuits alone, among religious orders, distinguished themselves by useful learning ; that leaving to the Dominicans their barbarous pedantry, to the Benedictines their heavy compilations, to the Franciscans their superstition and ignorance, to all the others their holy sloth, the Jesuits alone possessed every quality necessary for conducting men to God ; that they only excelled in literature, in regulating manners, in the art of preaching, and the direction of consciences ; that the ambition which was imputed to them was not a vice peculiar to their order, but a human frailty ; that a capuchin, if he were master of the list of benefices, would shew equal ambition ; and, in a word, that the Jesuits were hated by none but hereticks.

Jan.
1709.

Madame de Maintenon was for a secular priest ; but the king's affection for the Jesuits was so rooted in his heart, that although she acknowledged the force of the cardinal's reasons against chusing a Jesuit for the king's confessor, yet she knew they were ineffectual.

Mean time father de la Chaise was preparing himself for death: the king consulted him concerning his choice of a person to succeed him. The dying Jesuit wrote
down:

down the names of three or four fathers of his society, and madame de Maintenon sent this paper to the bishop of Chartres, desiring him to confer with la Chetardie, the curate of Saint-Sulpice, upon it. The king, added she, would have a man well born, of an inflexible virtue, one who is not solicitous about the aggrandizement of his family, nor subjected to the mean circumspection of concealed ambition.

At that time there was in Paris, a man born in Vire in the Lower Normandy, the son of an attorney, and author of a book in defence of the Chinese christians. This man had a mind more turned to intrigue than study, an irreconcilable enemy to the Jansenists, whom he was continually decrying to father de la Chaise; it was he who invented the artful fraud of Douay, which approached so near to the blackest treachery.

His emissaries, who were distributed in the colleges and universities, informed him of every thing it was necessary he should know, in order to forward his designs. He shewed an equal attention to conceal his intrigues, as to secure the success of them; obscure and unnoticed, although during twenty years, it had been his constant endeavour to disturb the quiet

of

of the kingdom, and unfortunately he was a Jesuit.

It was on this dangerous and turbulent man that an office was bestowed, which required one of the most virtuous and most pacifick to fill it properly. Father de la Chaise had wrote his name in his list; he had intended to have placed it last, but by the artifice of the person who guided his hand, it was the first.

The king, madame de Maintenon, the bishop of Chartres, and the curate of Saint-Sulpice, all gave him their voices; the king, because it was the name which first struck his eyes; madame de Maintenon, because she was told, that he had acquired great credit among his society by his learning, and great consideration in the world by his easy and engaging manners; the bishop of Chartres with a hope that cardinal Noailles, whom he was displeased to find treated with so much respectful caution, would be at length vigorously opposed; and the curate of Saint-Sulpice, in complaisance to the three others. Strange, that four persons, so wise and prudent, should think they chose a saint, when they gave their voices for a firebrand!

Father le Tellier was the name of the new confessor; he was then provincial of
Paris,

Paris, and treated the subjects of his little empire, as he afterwards treated the Jansenists: nothing but informations, threats, persecutions, and the most tyrannical exertions of power were heard of. The Jesuits rejoiced at his elevation, which delivered them from a man whose inventive cruelty might now find sufficient exercise against the enemies of the church.

This new secretary of state formed a council, the members of which were gloomy, vehement, and cruel like himself. The fathers Doucin, Lallemand, and Daniel, all Normans, were at the head of it; and all the subjects of the society, who were distinguished for their artifice, their talents for intrigue, and their turbulence of temper, were admitted; and their influence there was in proportion to their abilities.

Before this monkish council all secret informations were laid, and they judged the whole body of ecclesiastics in France. Father de la Chaise had never attempted any thing like it; his confidants were men of mild and peaceable dispositions: he had indeed opposed the Jansenists, but father le Tellier established an inquisition, pursued a plan made up of secret arts and open violence, and with less influence than father de la Chaise, had a thousand times more power.

CHAPTER II.

The affairs of the church.

FATHER le Tellier, who had a personal enmity to Noailles, because he had prevented him from publishing a version of the New Testament under his own name, aimed several strokes at that prelate, which were warded off by madame de Maintenon. The cardinal, either induced by his piety, which could not suffer the profanation, or stimulated by resentment, accused the confessor of selling benefices. 'I will consent,' said the confessor in his answer to the king, 'to be burnt alive, if this accusation can be proved; but the cardinal ought to be burnt, if it is not proved.'

Bissy, bishop of Meaux, and divine of the court, attempted to reconcile the cardinal and the confessor. The Jesuit said, that he must either lose his place, or the cardinal must fall: the cardinal was not ignorant of this sally of his rage, and answered some body who said, that the

the Jesuits were capable of every thing,
'No certainly, for I am still alive.'

In order to ruin the cardinal effectually, it was necessary to make him a heretick; the tenderness of his conscience, his submission to the church, and his firm attachment to truth, were well known. Le Tellier therefore chose, from among the moral reflections of Quênel, such as were most pious, most truly apostolical, in a word, such as the cardinal could not censure, without extreme dishonour to himself. But to denounce these articles to the pope, it was necessary to engage the king to act in the affair; however this could not be effected, without the prelates could be prevailed upon to intreat that his majesty would condescend to become the accuser of Quênel. The bishops of Rochelle, Luçon, and Gap, readily consented to publish mandates against the *Moral Reflections*; their nephews, who studied in the seminary of Saint-Sulpice, took care to fix them up in every quarter of Paris, and even over the gate of the archbishop's palace.

The cardinal ordered these seditious abbés to be turned out of the seminary. The three bishops complained to the king, and informed against the book, and him by whom it was defended; this letter,
which

which was a real libel, was soon published ; almost all the societies in Paris joined with the chapter of Notre Dame, in expressing to the archbishop their indignation at this proceeding. The king, who hated error, but disapproved of all violent and unjust measures, was greatly shocked at the extreme animosity shewn by the three prelates. Cardinal Noailles demanded justice of his majesty, who promised he should have it. The Jansenists, who fatigued the archbishop with their zealous remonstrances, persuaded him to suppress by a mandate of his own, those which his enemies had published against him. The king was so much displeased with the cardinal archbishop for having taken this step, that he sent him word, since he had done himself justice, he must not expect it from him.

The cardinal replied, that some distinction ought to be made between an injury offered to his person, and an injury offered to truth by the mandates of the three bishops ; that he had taken revenge for that which could not be done by the prince, but that it was the prince's part to revenge the other.

Madame de Maintenon, to whom father le Tellier had represented this distinction

tion as captious and fallacious, at length began to comprehend, that a bishop had the privilege of publishing any mandate in his own diocese, without losing the right of being defended by the laws from personal outrages. The booksellers of Paris presented a petition to the chancellor, against the proceeding of certain prelates, who had lately condemned a Testament so advantageous to their trade.

The king, being apprehensive that this quarrel would have further consequences, ordered the Dauphin to reconcile the two parties. This pious prince was willing to be the arbitrator between them, and received all their memorials: but distrusting his own abilities, he had recourse to the superior wisdom of the archbishop of Bourdeaux and of la Chetardie, who were desirous to pass for neutrals in the affair, but were far from being so. The latter, after the death of the bishop of Chartres, was confessor to madame de Maintenon; but this place he lost by his indiscretion. Madame de Maintenon had no longer a constant director; if the king had followed her example, France would have been blest with peace.

While the dauphin listened to the bishop of Meaux, who told him that the arch-

archbishop of Paris ought to suppress his mandate ; to the archbishop of Bourdeaux, who maintained that this mandate was not prejudicial to the episcopal authority ; to la Chetardie, who advised that the offenders should be punished, provided the offended party solemnly condemned the heresies of Jansenius ; to the archbishop of Cambray, who in all his letters thundered against the partisans of Quênel, a defence of Quênel's *Moral Reflections* by monsieur Bossuet late bishop of Meaux, was published and dispersed over the whole kingdom.

This apology was solid and vigorous ; the Jesuits were thrown into the utmost consternation ; Bossuet was become the church itself, and Quênel, defended by Bossuet, could no longer be a heretick. Fortunately the editor, who was nephew to this father of the church, was found to be a good Jansenist ; he was accused of being the author of the book, which he published under the name of his uncle. Those who knew what contempt the great Bossuet had always expressed for Quênel, no longer doubted of it. This pious fraud being publicly known, all good men were scandalised at it : certainly the partisans of Quênel suspected that they had not reason and truth on their side, since

since they had recourse to authority and falsehood.

At length a scheme of reconciliation was formed. By this scheme the mandates of the three bishops were to be submitted to the examination of their metropolitans; and if they condemned them, the bishops were to write a letter of excuses and compliments to the cardinal, of whom as a preliminary it was required that he should revoke his own mandate. These conditions were very hard, and the cardinal did not deign to make any answer to them.

The dauphin, having collected the voices of his council, assured the cardinal that he should have ample satisfaction from the three bishops, provided he would retract the approbation he had given of Quénel's Testament. This proposal was evidently dictated by father le Tellier; the affair at present was to suppress the libel, not to condemn error. Le Tellier was unjust, and perhaps ashamed of taking advantage of the prelate's extreme sensibility, to force from him a disavowal and to tyrannize over his conscience; but why did cardinal Noailles address himself to the king for justice, instead of complaining to the parliament, who would have condemned the libels of his enemies to the flames? whoever

ever has recourse to the supreme authority for justice, when the laws can afford it him, renounces the protection and the pity of the publick.

CHAPTER III.

Falshood discovered, and left unpunished.

FATHER le Tellier did not appear in this quarrel, which he directed according to his pleasure ; he was employed in forming a plot of greater importance ; he ordered the three bishops to accuse both cardinal Noailles and Quênél to the king. A letter, wrote by the abbé Bochart of Saron, unveiled the whole mystery.

This abbé, formerly a Jesuit, and then employed as a spy by the confessor, wrote to his uncle the bishop of Clermont that Quênél's book would be prohibited ; that father le Tellier was collecting from every part letters from the bishops to the king against cardinal Noailles ; that he had already got thirty, and had told him that in three days he should have as many more ;
that

that the most inviolable secrecy was promised to all who would engage in this iniquitous affair; and that he intreated him to sign a letter according to the form he now sent him.

This form was a severe invective against cardinal Noailles and against heretical doctrine: it was transmitted with other papers by the post, and taken from thence by one of the cardinal's emissaries, the treachery of the abbé Bochart being already suspected by the cardinal.

The cardinal deposited the original of these papers in the episcopal court, and sent copies of them to the king, to the dauphin, and to madame de Maintenon: the two last were not able to contain their indignation; but the king carefully concealed his sentiments, either because he meditated some important blow, or because he was already in the secret.

As soon as they were published, all who possessed either piety or honour exclaimed against the abominable artifices of this cabal. The bishops complained that they were now reduced to the single function of signing mandates composed for them, they whom Jesus Christ had established the sole judges of doctrine. The Huguenots remembered, *That the Holy*

Ghost came every week in a coffer to the fathers of the council of Trent. See, said the libertines, what religion is ! human credulity requires proper nourishment ; our faith will never be complete ; every day some new tenet is introduced ; and how are these tenets made ? by dictating to our judges what opinions they are to embrace. The *Moral Reflections* cannot be orthodox, since he who nominates to bishopricks has ordered the bishops to declare them heretical ; formerly, infallibility was lodged in the council, to-day it is in the pope, to-morrow it will be in the Jesuits ; and thus will it circulate from party to party, till the end of time.

The Jansenists were more vehement ; we shall never be without heresies, cried they, as long as the enemies of St. Augustin have le Tellier, Bochart, and bishops of Clermont, and they will always have them. The Jesuits can no longer deny their ambitious designs, and their schemes for independence ; they endeavour to divide the episcopate, that they may become its masters ; they sport with the justice of the king ; they abuse his zeal for religion ; and perhaps they make him an accomplice in the iniquities they project, by alarming his conscience about errors which never existed.

No

No one doubted but father le Tellier would be dismissed; many of the Jesuits were ashamed of their society. The greater part agreed that the father confessor, who, but a month before, had taken God to witness that he remained neutral in the affair, ought to do penance for having violated the first duties of religion and morality.

Others said coldly that the crime of father le Tellier was respectable, since it was peculiar to souls which like his, flaming with zeal for the house of God, willingly sacrificed their reputation and their conscience to truth. That Jansenism, which was continually working under ground, could not be destroyed, unless it was countermined; and it was very happy for the church of France that one priest could be found who had zeal and abilities enough for all the others; that the bishops, immersed in pleasures, had no leisure for composing mandates.

During some days father le Tellier was racked with the most cruel anxiety; in the king's behaviour he saw a coldness and reserve which was a prelude to disgrace. In order to turn aside the storm with which he was threatened, he prevailed

upon the abbé Bochart to take upon himself all the scandal of this detestable intrigue. The complaisant abbé wrote to the bishop of Clermont disavowing the principal strokes in the letter, and acknowledging his artifice and perjury.

Father le Tellier, doubtless blinded by his crime, carried this concerted letter to the king, which, when compared with the other, instead of clearing him, loaded him with accumulated guilt. The king, still more blind than his confessor, began to doubt whether the Jesuit was really guilty or not. The bishop of Meaux, who had been promised some rich abbeys by the confessor, provided he was not dismissed from court, came in very seasonably, and told the king that the abbé was a pious fool, who, in his letter to the bishop of Clermont, mentioned the name of the reverend father le Tellier, in order to quicken the old's man's zeal.

The king's countenance became calm and serene; he never liked to change his confidants, and to hate Jansenism was in his eyes a virtue which compensated for many sins. He had believed le Tellier to be one of his most faithful servants, he wished to find him innocent, and he was of

of an age when credulity as well as distrust is carried to excess.

The dauphin seemed to adopt the opinion of his grandfather; his indignation against father le Tellier vanished with the publick clamour; the courtiers, who alone were capable of awakening the king's resentment, had been too much accustomed to see all affairs managed by cabal and intrigue, to be long surprised at what the Jesuit had been guilty of.

But how? it will be asked; how did madame de Maintenon behave on this occasion? she was silent; the father confessor seemed to her so firmly rooted in the king's heart, that she thought it impossible to force him thence. Perhaps she was herself afraid of this ferocious and powerful man; perhaps she believed that if his office was given to another, the change would inevitably produce a schism in the church; however that may be, she abandoned her friend, and posterity will never pardon her for this instance of weakness. She ought to have left to God the care of his church, and have given the king a more worthy confessor: it was not her part to judge whether cardinal Noailles was or was not in error; whether it was necessary for the security of religion, that

the bishops should form a league against him ; but it was her duty to declare herself plainly against treachery and malice, to make the king sensible that there was a cabal formed to ruin an archbishop respectable for the holiness of his life ; and to represent to his majesty how greatly he debased his dignity, by the excessive confidence he placed in a man so contemptible.

When she afterwards concurred in the scheme for degrading cardinal Noailles, she obeyed the motions of her own conscience, which exhorted her to have no further connection with a prelate who rebelled against the authority of the church ; but when she suffered that prelate to be oppressed by the malice of a factious priest, she violated all the sacred duties of friendship, which suggested to her that she ought to declare herself openly against his oppressor. She indeed prayed to God ; but what were secret tears and fervent prayers, when courage, resolution, and arduous services were necessary ? It is certain that when the whole affair was candidly examined, probability was for the cardinal ; if le Tellier had had a good cause, would he have corrupted his judges ?

CHAPTER IV.

The Jesuits deprived of their privileges.

CARDINAL Noailles, still more astonished at the indifference the king shewed about the intercepted letters, than at the wicked purport of those letters, believed he owed to the church and to his own dignity a publick vengeance for the affronts he had received. After consulting the Lord in prayer he wrote to the king, and assured him that his soul was not safe under the direction of father le Tellier; he wrote also to madame de Maintenon, conjuring her by her zeal for the king's salvation to take the care of a conscience so precious, from that perverse and malicious man. These two letters were read, and despised: father le Tellier had just before been declaiming against Jansenism to the king.

The cardinal, finding that his enemies exulted over his fallen dignity, which was their own work, resolved to deprive the most seditious amongst them of the privileges of preaching and confessing. Father

Daniel, superior of the professed house, went to him, and complained bitterly of this interdiction. ‘I thank you and your fathers,’ said the archbishop to him, ‘for your labours in my diocese; I have many ecclesiasticks who are without employment, and I have no need of your auxiliary troops.’

The greater part of the Jesuits rejoiced at this punishment; some, because they hated father le Tellier, to whose cabal they gave the name of the *Norman party*; others, because they expected that this event would excite troubles, in which they might augment their own credit and influence.

Father le Tellier was not in the number of those Jesuits who was interdicted from exercising these powers. He acquired new ones; but the king’s mind was greatly perplexed; he ballanced between his archbishop and his confessor. Le Tellier he favoured thro’ inclination; but reason was on the cardinal’s side. He could not endure that a society he loved so much should receive so terrible a blow; but he would not venture to demand favour for them of the cardinal.

Madame de Maintenon and the duke d’Antin, who were witnesses of the king’s uneasiness,

uneasiness, solicited the cardinal to set his majesty's mind at ease, by restoring their former privileges to the Jesuits; he was inflexible. At length the king himself intreated him. 'When my assistance was required in temporal affairs,' answered the cardinal, 'such as imposts equivalent to the tenth-penny, I have always obeyed your majesty's orders; I have been the first to ruin the clergy with taxes, to preserve your throne and your dominions; but the question is now concerning the sacraments and the power of the keys intrusted to my care, all that is most awful and most august in religion. Your majesty is neither permitted to touch the censer, nor to demand of me an account of my conduct; and if I am reduced to the necessity of displeasing you, or of offending God, my choice has been made long ago.'

The king, who was convinced that he had neither the right of judging, nor of interposing his authority in sacred matters, did not insist upon the Jesuits being admitted to exercise their former powers; and although he had sported with the consciences of his lay subjects, he revered the conscience of his archbishop. The dauphin had so high an idea of the ecclesiastical

cal power, that he often said to cardinal Noailles, 'If an affair has ever so little relation to the church, it is without the bounds of our jurisdiction.'

These rights, so frequently violated, would be always respected, if those in whom they are vested would cease at length to have recourse to the civil authority to enforce them.

However, the cardinal's conduct was blamed; some said, that by interdicting so many Jesuits, he had done too much; and, by tolerating the most guilty, he had done too little: that a man of such superior abilities, courage, and even piety, would have made a better use of his advantages in this dispute, by suddenly alarming the conscience of the prince; and that the favour shewn to father le Tellier shewed the cautious reserve of a timid courtier.

Others said, that the punishment inflicted on the Jesuits was of too long duration; but the cardinal would have shortened the time, if he had not been informed that it was looked upon as a private vengeance which he ought to sacrifice to the king. A certain humorous wit sent him a petition in favour of the Jesuits, and in the names of old sinners, who were in great distress

distress by the thorns which the Jansenist confessors strewed in the way to heaven.

Although the archbishop had fallen into a kind of disgrace with the king, madame de Maintenon ventured to have a conversation with him. Moved with the misfortunes of the church, and anxious about the future, she was free enough to propose to him to resign his archbishoprick. To suppose that Noailles was so detached from the world, it must necessarily be that she herself was bound to it by very slender ties. The cardinal, who some years before had voluntarily offered her to abdicate his dignity, rejected this proposal now, and alledged that circumstances were greatly altered; that the eyes of the whole church were fixed upon him; that he would never quit his post, which his enemy would quickly give to some mercenary; that he was sure his own vigilance would not be less than that of his successor.

Madame de Maintenon exaggerated to him the great power and influence of father le Tellier. The cardinal told her, without any emotion, that he was prepared for whatever might happen; that he hoped for nothing from men; that he would obey the church; and would have already

interdicted the reading of Quênél's book, if the Jesuits had not attempted to force him to it, by assuming the power of masters over the bishops, whose disciples only they were.

Madame de Maintenon, being apprehensive that the conversation would turn to a disagreeable explanation, interrupted it, by talking of indifferent things. The cardinal went out of her apartment, convinced that his ruin was determined, but that it did not depend upon men.

The reader will doubtless be astonished to find a king, so remarkable for his love of justice, sacrificing to a Jesuit a prelate whom the ancient church would have envied these latter times the possession of. Many persons supposed that the king, by protecting le Tellier, protected only a brother of the society he himself had entered into. Some Protestant and some Jansenist historians * assure us that he was a

* See Anecdotes upon the Constitution Unigenitus, or *The Journal of the abbé Dorfanne*. It is the same work; but published under different titles, by the fraudulent booksellers and Jansenists of Holland. During thirty years it was published under the title of *Anecdotes*, and six months ago under that of *The Journal*.

Jesuit; to prove it, they bring the testimony of two blue-coat boys, who were present when the king pronounced the three first vows, and of an officer of the chamber, who heard the king pronounce the fourth vow to his confessor. It was also said, that madame de Maintenon was become a daughter of the society: it is certain, that from the year 1696, she was suspected of being so.

These facts do not appear to be founded upon good proofs, but upon the necessity there was of explaining other facts by them: and thus it is, that in the hands of such persons as seek to discover the secret causes and motives of every thing, history becomes a mere romance. Among the religious orders, there are many that admit laicks into their society; and such as are thus associated, participate in all the spiritual goods of the community. God ascribes to these strangers, the merit of the good works of his saints, who have more than sufficient to secure their own salvation.

In this sense Lewis the Fourteenth may have been a Jesuit; but he never was so superstitious or so weak, to have really entered into their order. Whatever ascendancy father le Tellier might have acquired

acquired over his mind, how could he persuade him that vows, which he could not fulfil, could be useful to his salvation? and that the vows of poverty and absolute obedience were not incompatible with his dignity as a king? It is very possible to love the Jesuits without being a Jesuit, so much may be said in their favour; it is also very possible to hate them without being a Jansenist, so much may be said against them.

CHAPTER V.

The dauphin and dauphiness.

THE dauphin, who was always a friend to peace, not being able to establish it in France, advised the king to carry this theological war to Rome. The bishops of Luçon and Rochelle, intreated the pope to be their judge, and at the same time accused Quênél's book of heresy. The archbishop of Cambray had already sent his holiness his remarks on the book; and by the manner in which Clement the Eleventh received them, he was convinced that the faith and submission of him who had so ardently opposed the book of *Maxims*,

Maxims, would be put to the same proof as his had been.

In points of doctrine, to be accused is almost to be condemned. Cardinal Noailles, who foresaw the decree, foresaw also the danger of it: tho' he but faintly opposed the bishop's demands of a bull, by which all differences might be terminated. He was apprehensive, that father le Tellier would accuse him of not believing in the infallibility of the pope, although father le Tellier believed less in it than himself: for this Jesuit, having wrote a very bad book, which was twice condemned, still persisted in declaring that it contained sound doctrine; and to reduce him to obedience, explication upon explication was necessary, and decree upon decree. However, his heresies were not trifles like Quênel's; for he maintained, that it was possible to be at once an idolator and a christian.

The dauphin employed his time in affairs of more importance, and of a less intricate nature. Long reflection upon the errors of his grandfather's reign, discovered to him that the source of them was in that form of government which he had adopted. He was sensible that all the miseries of war proceeded from the

ex-

exhausted condition of the state ; and that the state was exhausted by that great number of oppressive edicts, which the parliament had not been able to oppose. He therefore resolved to restore one day to this august body their former liberty, and by multiplying councils, strengthen his own understanding: it was difficult to make both these projects agree.

This prince was the hope of the nation, and the princess his wife was the delight of the court ; piety had changed the temper of the one *, and corrected the faults

* See madame de Maintenon's testimony to this truth, in a piece which is not inserted among her letters.
 ' I do not think I can make use of a more efficacious
 ' motive to prevail upon you generously to embrace a
 ' truly christian life for the rest of your days, than by
 ' proposing to your imitation the example of the dauphin. This prince is almost of your age ; ever since
 ' he first received the communion, we have seen vanish
 ' by degrees all those faults which in his childhood had
 ' given us so much anxious concern for his future behaviour. We were sensible of the progress which he
 ' made every year in virtue. At first he was rallied by
 ' the whole court ; he is at length become the admiration of the greatest libertines in it. After dinner he shuts himself up in his closet, and continues
 ' there an hour or two alone. He is constantly employed

faults of the other. The prince and princess placed the most unbounded confidence in

‘ played in combating his passions, that he may cure
‘ himself intirely of his faults. His piety has produced
‘ so great a change in him, that from haughty, passion-
‘ ate, and revengeful, he is become polite, mild,
‘ and generous: one is ready to pronounce that this is
‘ his disposition, and that virtue is natural to him.

‘ When he determined to apply himself wholly to
‘ his duties, he began by renouncing play, of which he
‘ was passionately fond. I asked him why he had inter-
‘ dicted himself this amusement, the most innocent of
‘ all that were to be found in a court. He replied, that
‘ he was convinced an eager desire of gain was the cause of
‘ his passion for play; that indeed he was not much con-
‘ cerned when he lost, but that he was sensible of an
‘ extreme joy when he won; that this passion there-
‘ fore must be founded upon avarice, and that what was
‘ vicious in its principle, could not be innocent in its
‘ effects.

‘ The princess his wife, who knows what simplicity
‘ there is in his piety, notwithstanding his fine sense and
‘ enlarged notions, sometimes takes advantage of the ten-
‘ derness of his conscience; for it is always sufficient, if she
‘ says to him, *If you do such a thing, you will be the cause
‘ of a great sin; for I shall put myself into a passion.* Every
‘ kind of deceit and falshood impresses horror upon his
‘ mind. He one day answered me with a little insin-
‘ cerity, and the next day coming to my apartment,
Madam,

in madame de Maintenon. She was the depository of all their cares, their joys,

Madam, said he, I was mean enough yesterday to impose upon you ; I could not sleep all night, having such an action to reproach myself with ; I come to own my faults, and to repair it in some degree, by telling you the truth.

By some persons he is supposed to be covetous ; but the numberless alms he bestows in secret sufficiently clears him of that charge. Others think his government will be austere and rigid ; however he is not insensible to joy, nor averse to amusement. He sometimes gives himself freely up to it in complaisance to the dauphiness. His virtue, instead of rendering amusements insipid to him, give him a quicker relish of them, whereas those who make pleasures their only employment find none that entirely satisfy them. They go from the gardens to the chace ; from the chace to the play-house ; from the play-house to the opera ; from thence to the gaming-table. I wish you would observe them with attention at the end of each successive diversion ; their languor and discontent will make an emphatick sermon. You will find them with sorrowful looks and a tone of chagrin, complaining that every thing was wrong ; the play was ill performed ; the opera was detestable ; they were stifled with heat in the gardens ; the hounds did not hunt well. Amidst all these discontented voluptuaries, the young prince is the only person who appears gay and satisfied, because he has spent the greatest part of the day in fulfilling those duties he knows, and in being instructed in those that are yet unknown to him.

their

their wishes, and their designs ; they submitted their little quarrels to her arbitration ; she cemented their union, and improved their mutual tenderness.

The dauphiness was gay ; she had a high taste for the pleasures of life, and loved gaming. The coquets of the court endeavoured to snatch her from madame de Maintenon ; they furnished the closet of the princess with dangerous books, that she might not be ignorant of the theory of vice at least ; madame de Maintenon used to fill them with books of piety and good morals, which disappeared the next day.

The dauphin, passionately enamoured of his wife, could not bear to be absent from her a moment ; the dauphiness, diverting herself with his jealousy, used sometimes to steal from him : madame de Maintenon, by seasonable advice and tender persuasion, succeeded better in recalling her, than the troublesome ardour of her husband.

She used often to chide the princess gently for her little levities, and often assisted her with money, to pay the debts she contracted at lansquenet. She prevented the grandfather's anger, and while she taught the young dauphiness to engage every

every heart, she shewed the most earnest attention to preserve to her that of the king.

One day, when the princess appeared in great perplexity and uneasiness, she confessed to madame de Maintenon that she owed a large sum, for which she was extremely pressed. She durst not mention it to the king; for the dauphiness had given him a false state of her debts, and money was so scarce, and his majesty was grown so frugal, that he did not discharge them, without accompanying his present with a little reprimand.

Madame de Maintenon was moved at the uneasy situation of the princess. She borrowed fifteen hundred pistoles upon her estate, and made up the rest of the sum with the money she had destined for alms, but little regretting what she took away from her heirs, yet greatly concerned for what she ravished from her poor. The next day the dauphiness found twenty-five thousand francks in her closet, and the following billet from madame de Maintenon, 'I send you, madam, the
' sum necessary to pay your debts, and set
' your mind at ease; the only acknow-
' ledgment I desire, is not to thank me
' for it.'

At

At length the princess renounced languenet; and madame de Maintenon enjoyed the success of her cares. Her pupil became her most faithful friend; and whether this pupil made an essay of the part of queen, which she was soon to act, or whether laying aside state, she delivered herself up to the easy pleasures of society, she gave France hopes of the most happy days. 'I feel my heart enlarge itself,' said she to madame de Maintenon, 'in proportion as I am raised higher.' Not that she was impatient to ascend the throne; by these sentiments she only discovered the new taste she had acquired for duties better understood by her; nor did the king entertain any fears of her ambition; he admired her character; charmed with her presence, he forgot all her little errors, and in her saw the happiness of his son, and in his son the felicity of his people.

Escaped from the snares of a dangerous world, she one day said to madame de Maintenon, 'I am now sensible, aunt, of the obligations I owe to you; you had patience enough to wait for the maturity of my reason.'

The king had not yet recovered his ^{Feb.} grief for the death of the dauph in his son, 1712.
when

when the dauphiness his grand-daughter was seized with a dangerous distemper *. While her illness was inconsiderable, she said to one of her ladies, ' I have it upon my mind that peace will be made, and I shall not see it.'

The next day a violent pain in her head, an impetuous fever, an ardent thirst, alarmed her physicians: they ordered that she should be twice bled. Madame de Maintenon scarce ever quitted her bed-side; she seized the first favourable moment to dispose her for those religious acts, which are always too long deferred. Father de la Rue her confessor, proposed to her to take another. ' Shall I not afflict him,' said the princess to madame de Maintenon, ' by taking another confessor?' ' Conscience cannot be too free,' replied madame de Maintenon. The princess then desired to have a recollet friar, famous for his learning and austere piety; and intreated madame de Maintenon to assist her in the examination of her soul.

Her distemper hourly increased; the physicians were ignorant of the nature of it; some said it was the small-pox, others

* All this I copy from madame de Maintenon's papers.

that

that it was a malignant fever. The king forbid the dauphin to go into the apartment of the princess; this caution was now too late; already the same distemper was in his veins; the unhappy dauphin, overwhelmed with grief, love, and despair, and tortured with the most shocking suspicions, said to madame de Maintenon, *Ah! if her death is hastened!— my God! my God! I pardon them.*

The holy sacrament was brought from the chappel of Versailles: the king attended it drowned in tears. The dauphiness, after having received the communion with the most lively faith, said to madame de Maintenon, ‘Aunt, I feel ‘myself quite different from what I was.’

Madame de Maintenon, suppressing her sobs, replied, ‘You have received your ‘God; he is your consolation, and will ‘soon be your reward.’ ‘I am sensible ‘of no grief, no regret,’ added the princess, ‘but for having offended him.’ ‘This sentiment,’ resumed madame de Maintenon, ‘is sufficient to procure your ‘pardon; but if health was restored to ‘you——.’ ‘Ah!’ answered the princess, ‘I would consecrate it to God, and ‘to him alone; but, my dear aunt, I am ‘very uneasy about my debts: the dauphin

‘ phin knows them, I wish I might see
‘ him.’ It is impossible,’ said madame de
Maintenon, ‘ you have the measles.’
The dauphiness, then calling for her cas-
ket, searched for the list of her debts, but
her strength failing her, she shut it again,
ordered it to be laid at the feet of her bed,
and, repeating her wishes to see her hus-
band, said to madame de Maintenon, who
was drowned in tears, ‘ Ah! my dear
‘ aunt, how greatly you affect me with
‘ your grief!’

She desired to see the ladies of her
household. To the dutchess de Guiche she
said, ‘ Farewel, charming dutchess, to-
‘ day a dauphiness, to-morrow nothing.’
Madam de Guiche replied, that God
would restore her to the prayers of the
dauphin. ‘ Ah, no,’ said the princess,
‘ he will try him with this affliction; for
‘ he afflicts those whom he loves.’

The king was present, and freely indul-
ged his grief. One of the attendants mak-
ing the princess observe it, she said, ‘ If
‘ I loved him less, and if I was less be-
‘ loved, I should die without regret.’
She intreated the king to pay her debts,
to reward her domesticks, and sometimes
to think of her.

Madame de Maintenon, influenced less by that grief with which she was overwhelmed, than those sentiments of faith which animated her, never ceased exhorting the princess to the last moment, to resign herself to the will of God. When she beheld her in the agonies of death, she gave free course to her tears : ‘ Suffer me to weep for my child,’ said she to those who endeavoured to comfort her ; and embracing the princess for the last time, she retired to her apartment, to weep and pray at liberty.

One of the courtiers brought a powder which he said had wonderful effects, and related some instances of its efficacy. As all hope was past, they did not hesitate about giving it to the dying princess : this medicine brought back her senses ; ‘ Ah ! how bitter this is !’ said she. Madame de Maintenon at the news, hastened with eager impatience to her apartment ; the princess said some words to her, and expired.

The dauphin had passed the days and nights in prayer ; sometimes offering his wife to God, sometimes conjuring him to restore her to him : when he was told that the fatal stroke was given, ‘ My God !’ cried he, ‘ preserve at least the king.’

As he was entering his coach to go to Marli, he found himself indisposed. The next day he received the communion, and went to join the king at Marli: he had a slight fever, which was attributed to his grief. He went to visit madame de Maintenon, to whom he said sighing, 'Whether men have killed her, or God has taken her, I equally adore him in what he orders, and what he permits.' His suspicions were those of a tender and unfortunate husband, who was ready to hate every husband more happy than himself.

That evening his fever raged with great violence; the physicians were apprehensive that he would have the measles, but the fever abating, they prescribed to him nothing but rest. The next day no signs of malignity were perceived in his distemper; and the following day he was so much better, that they declared they had been causelessly alarmed; and the king went to bed without any uneasy apprehensions.

But at twelve o'clock, the prince feeling himself shake and burn alternately, desired he might receive the sacrament. His physicians told him, that his distemper was

was not dangerous. 'I shall be dead,' replied the dauphin, 'before it is brought hither.' All who were present looked astonished upon one another, not knowing to what they should attribute these words.

At midnight the priest arrived, and celebrated mass in his apartment. The prince received the communion with his usual fervour; the celestial bread seemed to soften his pains: but a moment afterwards, feeling his bowels torn with increasing torture, he demanded that extreme unction might be given him. It was refused: he insisted upon having it, saying, that if it was longer deferred, he should be insensible when he received it. His soul seemed to raise itself towards God; he repeated the name of the dauphiness; and by what he suffered, judging of her sufferings, he offered his pains to the sovereign master of mankind, and melted with tender grief, over those of a wife who was now no more. *I burn,* he cried, and mingling with his confidence in the merits of Jesus Christ, those terrors with which religion inspires the dying, 'I burn,' he added, 'but fiercer fires are felt in that place where our souls are purified.'

The king was sent for; he had left his grandson well; he returned to his

apartment, and found him agitated with convulsions, in the wildness of a delirium, in the agonies of death.

At this news, Paris was in the utmost consternation: the holy sacrament was exposed; the shrine of Saint-Genevieve was opened; the churches were filled with innumerable crouds of people; all made vows for the preservation of a prince so affectionately beloved: but as soon as they knew that heaven had already disposed of him, every face was overspread with the deepest woe. No man was ever so tenderly lamented; it seemed as if the whole kingdom was undone; he, they cried, would have restored happiness to France: the people have lost their father, and virtue her protector. He had placed his chief glory, in establishing justice throughout every part of the kingdom, and in securing to us the blessings of peace: he would not have loaded us with oppressive taxes, nor have given us up to the caprices of inhuman ministers: God only shewed him to us, we should have been too happy to have possessed him.

This sorrow, and these mournful praises were heard in every other part of the kingdom, where they were informed at once of the dauphin's sickness, his danger, and his

his death. All good citizens had flattered themselves, that to the reign of a conqueror would succeed that of a father of his country; this reign was only deferred, and the duke of Burgundy now lives in his son.

This son drew near his last moment. His elder brother the duke of Bretagne, aged five years, was named Dauphin, and lived but fifteen days afterwards. 'Mamma,' said he to his governess, 'the journey to Saint-Dennis is not a very agreeable journey.'

Thus, in the space of ten months, France saw the deaths of a dauphiness, three dauphins, saw the fourth ready to be carried from the cradle to the tomb, and the duke du Maine in agonies, bidding the king his father a last farewell, who cried, *And this: must this also be torn from me?*

These tragical events did not depress the king. Unhappy in war, unhappy in the divisions that rent the church, unhappy in the deaths of his children, he felt the force of all these misfortunes with the sensibility of a man, but he endured them like a christian. He thought God punished his kingdom for the faults of its

king, he adored his judge; he appeared as usual in publick, no murmur escaped his lips; they had reason to think, that the king would never want children while he had subjects.

But notwithstanding this fortitude, this patient resignation, his domestick miseries sunk deep into his mind; his blood was corrupted, and he was seized with a kind of melancholy, attended with dangerous symptoms. Madame de Maintenon endeavoured to assuage his grief, by banishing those cruel losses from his memory: but, overwhelmed with sorrow herself, whenever she thought of that dauphiness so lovely and so much beloved, 'I weep for her,' said she, 'and I will always weep for her:' and a moment afterwards, submitting to the will of providence, or believing that she submitted, she cried, 'If God would restore her to me, I think I would not have her; she is happy, she is with him.'

From that time she was afflicted with a continual fever: but neither her disorder, nor her wasted strength, could lessen her assiduous attendance upon the king; and at Saint-Cyr, she seemed to have one soul for suffering with the extremest sensibility, and another for acting with unceasing vigour.

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These precipitate deaths occasioned the most shocking suspicions ; they were attributed to poison, and the author was publickly named. The duke of Orleans, they said, had evidently committed crimes, of which he only was to reap the fruit ; his debaucheries, his impiety, his ambition, his hatred to the duke and dutchess of Burgundy, were decisive proofs against him : he had himself, they added, composed the poison in his laboratory ; he was universally execrated, and it was loudly demanded, that he should be brought to trial ; and that this victim at least should be sacrificed to the manes of the princes, and to the publick sorrow.

These reports, which calumny produced, and credulity received, seemed only to deserve contempt, since they were founded on the wickedness of the human heart. It was reported, that when the bodies of the princes were opened, some signs of poison were discovered : this was false. It was confidently asserted, that Lewis the Fifteenth owed his preservation to an antidote which had been brought from Venice ; and that, where it expelled the venom, he had a livid mark on his skin ; and this also was false. It was pretended,

that the king had commissioned the lieutenant de police to procure secret informations; and the king never gave such an order.

They added, that an order for seizing the supposed poisoner had been granted, and that the dowager dutchess of Orleans had prevented the signing of it; and this story was as false as it was improbable. The author of *The Age of Lewis the Fourteenth*, who, in rejecting these calumnies, confirms rather than destroys them, adopts this idle tale, and puts it in the mouth of the marquis de Canillac, who told him, that Homberg, the prince's chemist, surrendered himself prisoner at the Bastille; that the duke of Orleans demanded to be imprisoned; and the dutchess dowager intreated the king to give up her son to the laws.

I lately read these anecdotes of Voltaire's to a courtier, a contemporary of the duke's, and well acquainted with the secrets of the palace; and he assured me that they were a series of falsehoods, that the marquis de Canillac was a man of great probity, and could not have been guilty of affirming such untruths.

How-

However that may be, the king neither accused nor suspected his nephew; and that circumstance alone was sufficient to clear him. The duke of Orleans was perhaps capable of the vices of heroes, but not of the crimes of villains: he was not devout; but if deism excludes piety, does it necessarily exclude virtue also? He was ambitious, but that excessive sweetness of temper which formed his character, would have started back with horror, at the bare idea of overwhelming all France with grief.

Quelques crimes toujours précèdent les grands crimes.

Small crimes must always flagrant crimes precede.

To reach the throne, he had seven lives to take away, which excluded him; was it likely that he would have spared the king, who might have revenged those crimes? or the duke of Berry, who must have all the advantage of them?

Thus injured by those frantick reports, which were continually resounding in his ears, he shewed no signs of weakness or of fear: he always preserved the peaceful calm

of conscious innocence ; disdained to justify himself, appeared as usual at court, and attended the funeral pomp to Saint-Denis. . . .

This day April 24. 1753, at eight o'clock in the morning, I am interrupted by an order from the king. I am torn from my friends, my family, and from myself. An exempt and a commissary examined my papers, and took from among them, all that might have any relation to the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth I have just dictated a verbal process to the commissary, to which I have added authentick pieces, that evidently prove my innocence. The minister will find he has been imposed upon. . . .

This day October 12. 1753, I am released from the Bastile. I know not yet the cause of this long confinement ; but returning again into the world, I there find an atrocious libel against me, under the title of A Supplement to the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth. In this book, Voltaire accuses me to the publick, of what by his niece he secretly accused me to the minister ; that is, of having renewed those audacious calumnies against the duke of Orleans, which I was refuting at the very moment when I was arrested. I am preparing to answer this unjust

just man *. I owe my injured honour this kind of vengeance, after which I will resume the history of madame de Maintenon.

CHAPTER VI.

Renunciations made by the king of Spain and the duke of Orleans.

WHEN the news of the sudden deaths of so many princes, which rather brought Philip of Anjou than Philip of Orleans, nearer the throne of France, arrived in Madrid, the king of Spain declared, that if the young dauphin died, he would quit Spain for France. The duke of Orleans pleaded his right, and that of his son-in-law the duke of Berry; and demanded that Philip the Fifth should yield to him his right to the throne of Spain.

* This answer has been published these two years, under the title of *An Answer to the Supplement to the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth*. Voltaire, instead of making any reply, or of confessing the injury, has, in some of his late writings, renewed the same calumnies, as if they had not been already refuted. These new insults have disengaged me from the promise I made, never to mention him more: *Quis tam ferreus, ut teneat se?*

All Europe thought the pretensions of the duke of Orleans were absolutely just ; the general peace depended upon those renunciations, which would prevent for ever the union of the two monarchies.

Lewis, who saw the little dauphin dying every day, wrote repeated letters to Philip, to prevail upon him to prefer the hope of succeeding to the crown of France, to the possession of the crown of Spain. He offered him a sovereignty which would free him from subjection, or at least a regency, which could fall upon no other than him. Philip was not able to determine his choice ; these proposals were very advantageous to him, but the consideration of his children's interest forbid him to accept of them.

The princess Des Ursins was fluctuating between the fear of serving a dethroned queen, and the hope of being the favourite of a queen of France. The Spaniards, who considered the letters patents of the year 1700, as a violation of the testament of Charles the Second, which by preserving to Philip the Fifth the claims of a Bourbon, gave them only a precarious king, impatiently expected the time when this king should cease to be a foreigner, and acquire

acquire a lawful right to their monarchy. Some of them, displeased at the irresolution he shewed, and not willing to be eternally governed by Lewis the Fourteenth, under the name of Philip the Fifth, made vows in secret for the duke of Orleans, whom heaven had often seemed to promise to them, and whom they hoped at length to possess.

Mean time the princess Des Ursins, either to recover her health, or to confirm her favour at court by a short absence, went to drink the waters at Barege. She travelled with the state of a sovereign: she had all the haughtiness, and received all the honours of one. She was served by gentlemen belonging to the king: she was attended by his guards, twelve of whom were always in her anti-chamber as sentinels.

This pomp enraged the Spaniards to the highest degree against madame Des Ursins, whose insolence and pride, increased in proportion as she assumed new state. No person blamed her more in secret for this conduct, than madame de Maintenon, and she only endeavoured to excuse it. Orry came to meet the princess at Barege, and from thence set out for Madrid, where he was more powerful and
more

more detested than ever. Lord Lexington arrived there also, to press for the conclusion of the treaty between England and Spain.

The princess Des Ursins had renounced her claim to a principality in Flanders, only to oblige madame de Maintenon; but she now resumed that project, either to secure an asylum for herself, in case of any reverse of fortune, or because she was desirous by this step to approach nearer to that high dignity which the death of the queen of Spain, who was fallen into a decay, seemed to promise her ambition.

She gained lord Lexington by her insidious kindness, and artfully procured these words to be inserted in this treaty, *The queen of Great Britain obliges herself to procure a principality for the princess Des Ursins.*

Clement Generoso, a gentleman of Valencia, who was the confidant of the English minister, perceived the force of this article, and reproached him with having exceeded his orders. Lexington, reflecting upon what he had done, ran to the palace in a rage, complained that he had been imposed upon, and tore the treaty. The queen conjured him not to oppose the elevation of madame Des Ursins; the Englishman

Ishman relented ; the article was replaced in these terms, ‘ The queen of Great Britain will employ her good offices to procure a principality for the princess Des Ursins.’

The form of the king of Spain’s renunciation of the crown of France was drawn up ; Clement Generoso weighed every syllable of it ; the states of the kingdom were summoned ; nothing was neglected that could give authenticity to this act, which the common interest of Europe guaranteed more securely than all these precautions ; but Philip V. had not yet ceased to be a Frenchman. During the fifteen days that preceded the ceremony, he was observed to be pensive and melancholy. When the moment came that he must renounce his country, he appeared in great concern, and when he laid his right hand upon the gospel to pronounce the solemn oath, he could not retain his tears.

The person who bound himself by this act was the only one who believed it valid. It is indeed highly probable, said the politicians, that any prince would renounce the kingdom of France ! On the day when the parliament of Paris registered the renunciation of the dukes of Berry and Orleans to the crown of Spain, this max-
im

im was repeated in every part of the palace, *No person can renounce his right to an inheritance which he is not in immediate possession of.*

The princess Des Ursins had taken such care to remove every difficulty to her own advancement, that she thought herself secure of her principality; but D' Aubigné her agent ruined all in Holland. He offered that republick advantages in the Indian trade greatly superior to those which had been lately granted to the English. The pensionary of Holland informed the queen of England of this offer, who, being greatly displeased with the princess Des Ursins, said, 'Since she has recourse to others, I will abandon her.'

D' Aubigné, deceived by his hopes, pressed the Dutch to conclude this treaty, and received only evasive answers. Madame Des Ursins imputed this bad success to the arts of Clement Generoso, and caused him to be arrested, under pretence that he was born a subject to the king of Spain. Orry, the minister of her revenge, wrote these words below the order, 'If he shews any intention of taking sanctuary in a church, kill him.'

The duke of Berry's death opened those wounds which the lenient hand of peace had

had already closed. The duke of Orleans now stood almost next to the throne. The people made vows for the preservation of the little dauphin, whom France already considered as her father, and Europe as her child. The courtiers were apprehensive that these vows would be heard *. They said the death of the little prince would deliver them from the troubles of a thorny regency; so secure were they of the invalidity of the oaths of kings, and of the aversion of Lewis XIV. for his nephew.

Madame de Maintenon's letters shew the anxiety which the delicate constitution of this last remaining branch of the dutchess of Burgundy gave her. The whole court turned their eyes upon the duke of Orleans. She was the only person who neither feared nor wished him for a master: resigned to the will of providence, full of hope that God would preserve this last blessing of her country, and perhaps foreseeing that this child, then so indifferent to the court, would be one day the idol of France, and that we should live under that just and happy government which the duke of Burgundy had made us hope for.

* Letters from madame de Maintenon to the duke de Noailles.

CHAPTER VII.

The bull Unigenitus.

Father le Tellier was continually exploring the misfortunes of the church, and augmenting those of the state. While Quênél's reflections on the New Testament was under examination at Rome, he promised the king a solemn condemnation of that book, which the Jacobins hastened by their suffrages, and the Jesuits by their intrigues.

Only thirty-three propositions were at first denounced; but father le Tellier assured the king, that there were above a hundred which were evidently heretical. *Ah Father!* said the king to him in an accent which seemed to reproach him for this exaggeration: upon which the father confessor sent to the holy office the extract of a hundred and three heresies. At this news the pope complained of the labour the Jesuits cut out for him, and his minister alledged that they abused the complaisance

plaisance of the consultants for their society.

Cardinal de la Tremouille, who was intrusted with the king's orders in the affair, pressed for the examination of Quénel's book ; but, firmly persuaded that in an infallible church, truth has no need of protectors, he neither solicited the judges in favour of Quénel nor against him. Several bishops lamented the debasement of the French clergy, from whom the cognizance of causes, which they had a right to judge were taken from them. The Jansenists sought to hinder, or at least defer, the condemnation of Quénel, by impeaching father Jouvençy's doctrine upon the independency of kings, to the parliament.

At length, after many artifices, prosecutions, and delays, the bull was signed and published. The king was at Fontainebleau when he received it ; the whole court was transported with joy. No one doubted but that peace would be again restored to the church. Cardinal Noailles read it, and wept over the ruins of Jerusalem. The next day monsieur Voisin carried to him the form of acceptation ; the archbishop congratulated him upon his dexterity in composing uniform mandates, and some days afterwards the prelate published

lished one, in which he forbid the inhabitants of his diocese to read Quênél's book. The king publicly expressed his joy for this submission; and madame de Maintenon assured the archbishop of her gratitude. She was sensible this step had cost her friend a great deal, and did not perceive that the mandate prohibited the reading of the book, but did not condemn it.

As soon as a French translation of the bull appeared, all Paris seemed to have abetted the doctrine of Jansenius. Some said, that the bull attacked the opinions and expressions of the fathers; others, that the holy scripture was forced out of the hands of the faithful. The new converts exclaimed, that the bishop of Condom had deceived them; the philosophers maintained, that if one abuse of truth subjected truth itself to the anathemas of the Vatican, errors might be found in the Lord's prayer and in the apostles creed. The magistrates said, that if unjust excommunications were to tyrannise over consciences, the king would quickly become a subject of the pope; and the libertines declared, that, if they were to hold propositions quite contrary to those which were condemned, they would have a strange kind of religion. On every side were heard the murmurs of persons whose consciences were alarmed,
and

and they may still be heard; but if they were tolerated before the bull was accepted, they are heretical now that it is.

CHAPTER VIII.

The assembly of the clergy.

THE business now was to give this bull the force of a law. The nuncio told the king, that his holiness did not doubt but the clergy would receive it with all due veneration. Cardinal de Noailles and the first president proposed the holding of provincial assemblies. The minister asked the cardinal what would be the result of his assembly? The archbishop replied, that he could not so long before hand foresee the decisions of the Holy Ghost.

The king, who was apprehensive, that if the bull was received in one diocese and rejected in another, it would make a schism in the church, believed that an assembly of bishops, then residing in Paris, or at court, would produce unanimity; and that the provinces would readily conform to the decisions of the capital. He accordingly

ingly summoned the assembly, and cardinal de Noailles was president of it.

Twenty-nine bishops met at the palace of the archbishop of Paris; the cardinal told them that formerly he had approved of Quênél's book, as containing pious instructions, delivered with great simplicity of stile, free from the rigour of scholastick divinity; and that if this approbation was a crime, it was the crime of a bishop of Châlons, who was revered as a saint; of an archbishop of Paris, whose zealous opposition to Jansenism was well known; of a bishop of Meaux, one of the strongest supporters of the faith; of five doctors, the lights of the Sorbonne; of twenty prelates, who had recommended the reading of it, and multiplied the editions.

‘This book,’ added the archbishop, ‘was not then become a party book: it is now condemned by the pope; I submit to his decision. Mankind are liable to be deceiv’d, and in this particular I am more a man than any other. I should have sooner ordered this work to be suppressed, but I was prevented by the outcries of the three bishops who had leagued against me. They endeavoured to force the condemnation of this book from me by injurious language, by calumny, and by fraud.’

‘ fraud. Under such circumstances, what
‘ weight could my mandate have had ?
‘ Doubtless none ; it would neither have
‘ been honourable for me, nor useful to
‘ sound doctrine. I can submit to lawful
‘ authority, but never to injustice and op-
‘ pression : I desire no triumph but the tri-
‘ umph of truth ; accused, condemned,
‘ absolved, with truth, I shall always
‘ triumph.’

After this speech commissioners were appointed to examine the pope’s bull. Some of the bishops earnestly wished that it could be received without any examination, but the greater part said that the pope was not incorrigible.

The commissioners, although chosen by cardinal de Noailles, affected to conceal from him the resolutions taken in their office ; cardinal de Rohan, who was the chief of them, observed the same caution ; the bishop of Châlons disssembled ; Bissy, bishop of Meaux, assumed great authority, in the conferences ; he was not pleased at first with the bull, but upon a closer examination of it he discovered all its beauties.

Cardinal de Rohan, who presided at the conference, suffered the bishops to dispute

as

as they pleased, and seemed to think that it was beneath his high rank to contend about ordinances of faith; his great object was to please the court, without giving offence to the people.

At length he delivered to cardinal de Noailles a scheme for the acceptation of the bull. This was a writing in three columns; the first contained the form of the acceptation; the second the formula for the preservation of the rights of the kingdom and of episcopacy; and the third the reasons for thus accepting of the pope's bull. This scheme was so full of artifice and equivocation, that cardinal de Noailles easily perceived it was a production of the school of Escobar.

The king, who was apprehensive that the acceptation would be protracted, wrote to the assembly, that the constitution must be accepted simply and pure, without any explanation. 'Since the king has thought fit to deliver himself in this manner,' said the archbishop of Bordeaux, 'we have no farther subject for deliberation; the prince is become the head of the Gallican church; but if this church be still free, I repeat it again, we cannot accept of the bull but with explanations.'

Bessy,

Bissy, bishop of Meaux, and d'Aubigne, archbishop of Rouen, had solicited madame de Maintenon to obtain this order from the king. She did not perceive how greatly it dishonoured the clergy; however she would not allow her name to be quoted in the preamble to a report in which cardinal de Rohan declared that Bossuet, late bishop of Meaux, had assured madame de Maintenon, that his opinion of Quênél's book was the same with that given by pope Clement XI.

The assembly still continued to be held, but the bishops now only met in small numbers, and dined at the Hôtel de Soubise; there, with the glasses in their hands, in the midst of luxury and of pleasure, our lords the prelates discussed the merits of Quênél and the efficacy of grace. Many persons recalled to remembrance those bishops of former times, who prepared themselves by fasting and prayer for the examination of heretical books.

In these episcopal entertainments cardinal de Rohan exerted all the arts of the most profound policy upon the minds of his reverend guests; the resolute he intimidated, he animated the fearful, the obstinate he overcame, and the wavering he

fixed ; however, eight of them would not assist at these conventicles, and resolved to separate from the general assembly, when they foresaw that the bull would be accepted without any limitation.

The arguments they urged in defence of this conduct were, that the bull being obscure, explanations were absolutely necessary ; that the bishops were to judge of doctrine, and not blindly to execute the ordinances of Rome ; and that their presence could be of no use in deliberations where they began by debasing the episcopacy, and would conclude with consecrating by means of their acclamations the dreams of father le Tellier.

At this news, the king terrified at the bare idea of a schism in the church, acquainted the cardinal that he would not allow either him or his adherents, to separate from the assembly ; that their deliberations were entirely free, but that this disunion would persuade the publick they were not so. The eight bishops submitted to the king's orders.

At length they assembled at the palace of the archbishop, to hear the report of cardinal de Rohan, by which the prelates were to judge whether they should reject
or

or accept the bull. He began with severe censures of Quênel, then followed an oblique invective against cardinal Noailles, an ostentatious eulogium on the constitution, indirect proposals for a new formulary, long arguments in favour of Molinism: by his passing over the efficacy of grace in its own workings, he seemed to deny it; and not one word concerning the love of God was mentioned.

Such was the substance of his speech, which for its eloquence was greatly admired, though blamed for its violence and severity. It was thought a great hardship upon cardinal de Rohan, to be obliged to act the part of a vehement lawyer, instead of an impartial judge; and it was evident, that he obeyed, with great reluctance, the orders he had received from court. The harsh and severe things which le Tellier had dictated, cardinal de Rohan delivered in the gentlest accent, and with the most insinuating air imaginable.

The king, who was not willing to be accused of having laid any constraint upon the assembly, intreated cardinal Noailles to compose a form of acceptance. The cardinal obeyed. But this was rejected, because he there declared that the bishops

were judges of doctrine, as well as the pope; and that they would not accept the bull, but with explanations, to be published in a pastoral instruction. Rohan proposed another form; his was found too favourable to the authority of the pope, and that wrote by cardinal Noailles was too injurious to it.

Mean time the catholicks expected the decision of this dispute with anxiety, and the hereticks with ill-concealed malignity. If five positions, said they, which have been justly censured, and are confessedly heretical, have troubled the church so long, what confusion may we not expect from a hundred and one positions; none of which are evidently erroneous, and which are all indirectly condemned?

The bishops met again. All agreed to accept of, and explain the bull; but some were for explaining it before it was accepted, and others were for accepting it before it was explained. The archbishop of Tours was at the head of those who voted for the former method; and the archbishop of Rouen distinguished himself among those who favoured the latter.

In this mixed assembly of courtiers and true divines, there was but one philosopher,

pher, and this was the bishop of Mans.
' I have not read Quênel's book,' said he,
' but I have heard it greatly commended :
' those who condemn it now, were for-
' merly none of its least defenders. I have
' been also informed, that this Quênel is
' a very good man: how then is it possi-
' ble he should have wrote so bad a book ?
' On the other side, it must be confi-
' dered that the book is condemned by
' the pope; and how could so good a
' pope grant so bad a bull ? This contra-
' diction makes the affair extremely per-
' plexing. While saints applaud on one
' side, and a pontiff thunders out cen-
' sures on the other, what is to be done ?
' It is my opinion that we ought to aban-
' don Quênel, since we can do without
' him, and obey the pope, whom we
' have so much need of : but how, it will
' be asked, shall we reconcile what we
' owe to truth, with what we sacrifice to
' peace ? Very easily I answer. I have
' heard several bishops, who have voted
' before me, declare, that the reading of
' the Bible ought to be prohibited, be-
' cause the Bible is obscure. I have
' heard several other bishops declare that
' the bull is obscure ; it is therefore my
' opinion that we ought to accept the
' bull, and prohibit the reading it.'

Cardinal Noailles gave the king an account of all that was said and done in the assembly. The king did not seem offended at the opposition made by the nine prelates; but the next day the cardinal received a letter from the minister, wherein he was commanded to summon the assembly immediately, which it was his majesty's pleasure should no more be interrupted, by the obstinacy of some ill intentioned members.

All the bishops met at the palace of the archbishop, to conclude this important business. After the pastoral letter was read, and before the affair was again brought under deliberation, cardinal Noailles declared, in his own name, and in the names of eight bishops, that they would not vote. The forty other prelates voted for accepting the bull; and all was determined in less than half an hour.

The cardinal de Rohan, as he went away, said to cardinal Noailles, 'I did not take my resolution, till I had consulted the most rigid casuists.' Nor 'did I take mine,' replied Noailles, 'till I had consulted some of the least rigid.'

If truth be the daughter of virtue, it will be easy to decide between these two men. Cardinal Noailles defended the rights of the Gallican church; cardinal Rohan grasped at the riches of it. One earnestly implored of God the triumph of evangelical faith; the other was incessantly solliciting the grant of abbeys from the king. Noailles, in disgrace with his master, and threatened with the thunders of Rome, enjoyed all the blessings of a mind at peace with itself. Rohan, supported by royal favour, immersed in pleasures, and satiated with wealth, could neither conceal his anxiety, nor calm his disquiets.

The forty bishops jested upon the rule of faith, which they had lately subscribed. 'If we have put faith in security,' said the bishop of Mans, 'it is certain we have not been sollicitous about truth.' When they were asked why they had accepted the constitution, some answered 'for the sake of peace,' others 'by the king's orders.'

The Jansenists took advantage of these free confessions. They said, that the congregations, by which the bull had been composed, were under a restraint; and that the clergy who had accepted it, were

in part ignorant and part corrupted. The Jesuits answered these censures, as Arnauld and Nicole had many times answered the protestants, Man deliberates, but it is the Holy Ghost that determines. That pious and learned prelates should discover the truth is very probable, but that light should proceed from the bosom of darkness ; that an assembly of fools and wicked men should make these happy discoveries, is manifest the finger of God ; there is the mystery of the doctrine of infallibility, so well calculated by fixing to exercise faith.

The cardinal de Noailles was forbid the court ; and his eight adherents were ordered to repair to their dioceses. Madame de Maintenon was greatly afflicted at this growing schism, and abandoned the cardinal as a rebel to the authority of the church. The Jansenists accused her of being luke-warm and inconstant in her friendships : but, on this occasion, was she at liberty to follow the motions of her own heart ? was she to ruin herself with her friend ? had she not superior obligations to fulfil, than such as arose from remote alliances and partial friendship ? All catholicks consider the voice of the greater number as an oracle from heaven ; and, according to this rule, must not cardinal
Noailles,

Noailles, when condemned by the pope, condemned by forty bishops, condemned by all those judges of sound doctrine, who either formally accepted, or tacitly submitted to the constitution, be considered as an enemy to the church?

It is not known what part madame de Maintenon had in the acceptation of the bull. Her letters to father le Tellier, which would have informed us, were all burned by father du Halde in the beginning of the regency: but whether she had observed that neutrality and silence, which the moderation of her character, and the modesty of her sex prescribed to her, or whether she had yielded to the authority of popes and bishops, and to her zeal for what she believed to be truth, it is evident that, after the bull was accepted by the majority, she was no longer at liberty to protect the chief of those who refused to accept it. Her inclination would have led her to espouse that party in which she discovered the greatest purity of manners: her conscience forced her to join that in which she saw the greatest purity of faith. To her cardinal Noailles appeared a devout heretick, and cardinal de Rohan an orthodox, though worldly catholic.

Such as doubt whether, in this affair, she was solely influenced by principles of piety, I refer to the collection of her letters ; and to those letters also, I refer such as suspect this piety to be feigned : her discourse, her sentiments, her character, were always uniform. It would be very surprising if a woman, who wrote on this subject to so many persons actuated by different motives, should have carried artifice to such a height, as not to leave any traces of dissimulation. Was it possible to be a hypocrite during eighty years ? I repeat it : let these censurers read her letters, and then tell me, if truth could use any other language than she did.

The king, that he might put the last hand to the condemnation of Quénel, ordered the parliament to register the bull ; for it was still believed, that the civil power might give the force of a law to a tenet of the church. The three attornies-general could not agree upon the form in which it was to be registered. Monsieur Jolly de Fleuri observed to the king, that letters patents were never given to any ecclesiastick assemblies but such as were composed of deputies from the provinces, and represented the whole body of the clergy. ‘ I find,’ said the king, hastily interrupting

interrupting him, ' that you are only come
' to raise obstacles to my will.'

The magistrate insisted upon the words,
Let us enjoin the bishops. The king acknowledged that those words were too strong : he saw, though confusedly, that those who had inserted them in the letters patents, had made him play the part of a high priest : he approved of the word *exhort*, which was substituted instead of *enjoin* ; and said to his council ' What-
' ever relates to the excommunication ex-
' plain as you please, but do not embroil
' yourselves with the pope.'

This was the only article that was subjected to the examination of the parliament, by whom the pope's bulls were registered, not to constitute them ecclesiastical or civil laws, but only to attest, that they contained nothing contrary to the maxims of state.

Father le Tellier assured the king, that all would be lost if the word *enjoin* was altered, that by this the cardinal de Noailles was rendered guilty of high treason, and that the parliament, without abetting Jansenism, could not reject a term so necessary and efficacious.

The next day the king said to the first president, 'I do not examine whether I have a right to enjoin the bishops to do any thing, but I enjoin you to let that word pass.' Your council,' replied the first president, 'will not hear of it.' 'I will oblige them,' resumed the king, 'to resign their employments.' 'Sire,' said monsieur Jolly de Fleuri, 'has your majesty resolved upon this?' 'Yes,' replied the king, 'I have, and you know my pleasure.' The chambers assembled; the Jesuits had the whole parliament on their side, but the Jansenists had the abbé Pucelle.

The bishops who refused to accept the bull, published mandates against it, which were decried at Rome, and defended by their partisans. There was no need to answer by writings such as could be refuted by peremptory orders from the king. Le Tellier was prodigal of letters de cachet, and this violence made the bull more odious. When authority resolves to do the office of the law, it ought neither to be more severe, nor less just than the law: then might be seen a citizen arrested upon the information of an enemy, treated like a state-criminal for opinions in matters of faith, condemned without being judged,

judged, or judged without being heard: and what is still more surprising, no one complained of this abuse of the supreme power; the persecuted contented themselves with lamenting that they could not be persecutors.

Paris was overwhelmed with books on this subject. In some it was proposed, that explanations of the bull should be admitted, which greatly displeased his holiness: and indeed it was highly improper, that inferior bishops should presume to explain what the universal bishop thought fit to leave in obscurity.

In others, the positions laid down by Quênel concerning grace, were by his disciples almost proposed in the sense of Molinos. Quênel, who certainly knew what he intended to say, had a hundred times protested, that he understood them in the sense of Jansenius.

The pope, enraged at this rebellion, sent a brief to the king, in which he exhorted him to raise his sovereign arm against these innovators; like a tyrant who commands his viceroy, to waste his province with fire and sword. The Jansenists were certainly guilty; but to call in the secular arm to the assistance of religion,

to believe that the prince has a right to support anathemas with corporal punishment, is the most criminal and the most dangerous of all heresies*.

The party opposed artifice to violence, conciliating measures were useless, and the protestant party of Europe still rejoices to see in the Roman church, so numerous a flock, deaf to the voice of the shepherd; in appearance united to the holy see, and inwardly schismatick, ardent defenders of the infallible tribunal, and despisers of the decrees which condemn them: obstinate and incredulous children, who, driven by their mother from the house, still seek to remain there for the pleasure of tormenting her; and who confidently maintain to her, not that she has no right to disinherit

* The limits of civil power are well marked in the holy scripture. Acts of the Apostles chap. xviii. *And when Gallio was the deputy of Achaia, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against Paul, and brought him to the judgment-seat, saying, This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law. And when Paul was about to open his mouth, Gallio said unto the Jews, If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you: but if it be a question of words and names, and of your law look to it, for I will be no judge of such matters; and he drove them from the judgment-seat.*

them,

them, but that they are not disinherited by her ; odious to catholicks, because they too nearly resemble protestants, and despised by the protestants, because they are still too good catholicks.

CHAPTER IX.

The legitimated princes declared princes of the blood.

THE king, calm and composed in the midst of those divisions which raged in his dominions, resolved to shelter his natural children from the revolutions of a regency : his affection for the duke du Maine was nourished by madame de Maintenon, who loved that prince as the work of her own hands ; and was increased by those fatal events, which had almost made the royal family extinct, and overwhelmed the head of it with affliction. In the duke du Maine, nature now concentrated all that tenderness, formerly shared among those children which Lewis had unhappily lost.

The two legitimated princes already enjoyed the finest estates, the highest employments,

ployments, and the most lucrative governments in the kingdom. In the year 1694, they took rank before the peers, and were the first subjects. In 1711, the king granted them all the honours and prerogatives of princes of the blood; and the duke of Burgundy made no opposition to this grant: it was a personal right, and no one envied them the possession of it.

Lewis had done more than any of his predecessors, yet thought he had not yet done enough. Madame de Maintenon was continually representing to him, that he could no otherwise secure to his children after his death, the enjoyment of those estates and titles he had bestowed upon them, than by communicating to them a grandeur which should have its foundation in itself. Madame de Maintenon either would not, or durst not, make herself queen of France, and yet ventured to make princes of the blood.

Pontchartrain the chancellor, to whom the king imparted his first designs in favour of his children, replied, that this scheme was directly opposite to morality, and to the good of the state; that it deprived the nation of the noblest of its rights, the right of disposing of itself; that it would people the kingdom with
princes

princes of the blood, whose dignity by becoming common would be debased; that each Frenchman would think himself injured by it, but especially all those great families upon which the choice might one day fall; and lastly he urged, that such a preheminance would expose those to whom it was granted, to general hatred and contempt.

The first president du Mêmes saw less difficulties in the affair; he answered for the compliance of the parliament: he said, that the legitimate princes could have no reason to complain, since the princes legitimated would not be called to the succession, but in failure of them; that the royal family could not be dishonoured by a regulation which prevented its extinction: the duke du Maine and the count de Toulouse were already, by nature and by custom, princes of the blood.

The king's council were summoned to * July Marli, to deliberate upon this affair. 1714.

They said that a regulation of this nature concerned a matter of such high importance, that they did not doubt but the

* The author of the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth, who either does not date facts at all, or dates them falsely, places this in the year 1715.

king had already made all those reflections upon it, that his profound wisdom could suggest to him: they added, that if merit could give a right to the crown, none might more justly aspire to it, than those whom his majesty honoured with his choice.

The edict was accordingly drawn up: in it the king declared, that to prevent those troubles which must necessarily happen in the state, if the royal family should become extinct, it was his will, that in failure of the legitimate princes, the crown should descend to the duke du Maine; and in failure of him, to the count de Toulouse and their descendents.

The parliament registered this unusual edict, without any remonstrance. It had never been more numerous. Nineteen peers gave their voices in favour of the edict. The legitimate princes voted for the legitimated. The duke of Orleans did not appear. Marshal Villeroi made no compliments to the duke du Maine upon this occasion. Pontchartrain the chancellor resigned the seals; but all the rest suffered, without murmuring, this revolt of the sovereign against the majesty of the nation.

The

The king might have given stability to this edict, if he had interested in its preservation, those who alone had it in their power to attack it. He ought first to have declared the natural sons of kings, princes of the blood, and the natural sons of princes of the blood, dukes and peers. The edict would then have been unjust only with respect to the noblesse and to the people; and in France what are the people and the noblesse.

The dutchess du Maine, overjoyed that the rank of her husband was made equal to her own, no longer kept any measures with the princes of the blood. The latter had a process against the duke du Maine. They prevailed upon some chambers of the parliament, to reject those petitions, in which the legitimated princes assumed the quality given them by the preceding edict. The king, by a declaration, commanded that for the future, in all judicial and other acts, they should assume that quality; and that no difference should be made between them, and the princes of the blood royal.

It was foreseen, that these regulations would not long survive the king; but the dangerous consequence of such examples,
the

the honour of the nation, the sanctity of the fundamental laws, required that they should then be vigorously opposed. If it be true that parliaments represent the country, the country was then betrayed by the parliaments. The conservators of the people's rights can neither be forced to abandon them, nor justified by any circumstances that concur to prevail upon them. If respect for the will of an aged monarch, for the tenderness of an unhappy father, permits them to consecrate injustice by their suffrage, why may they not be allowed to give the throne by decree to the usurper, who should demand it sword in hand?

CHAPTER X.

The last will of Lewis the Fourteenth.

Lewis approached his end, and but just began to love his people. He would no longer suffer his ministers to speak to him of imposts; he gave a dry reprimand to the marshal de Montrevel, who proposed to his majesty, that a magnificent statue of him should be erected before
Châ-

Château-Trompette, exposed to the view of all who entered the Garonne, and a passage from the holy scripture inscribed upon the base. When he made Voisin chancellor he said to him, *All I require of you is justice and clemency.* He severely reprimanded a secretary of state, who had torn the petition of an exile. 'How,' said he, 'can you refuse to the unhappy, the consolation of reading their defence?'

He often repeated, that he wished to live a few years longer, that he might leave to his heir *a people lusty and fat.* The evening before he was to make a promotion of knights of his order, he said to madame de Maintenon, who told him he was going to make a great many persons happy, 'I am less affected with the joy of those whom I shall oblige, than with the uneasiness of those whom I must dis-appoint.'

He was now seen to approach the holy sacraments with equal regularity and edification; he bestowed on indigence, all that money which formerly he wasted on his pleasures. Every evening madame de Maintenon used to read to him that divine book in which kings are not flattered: she dwelt upon the most affecting passages, and hence those christian reflections

tions unfortunately too late suggested. He was apprehensive, that France would be soon torn by intestine divisions, and believed that a wise administration, ordained by his last will, would effectually prevent them. Although the power of kings terminates with their lives, yet Lewis the Fourteenth had reigned with so much glory, that he seemed to have acquired the right of still reigning after his death.

He had many conferences with madame de Maintenon and monsieur Voisin upon this subject. His first thought was to establish a regent; divided authority appeared to him the greatest error that could be committed in a monarchy. The duke of Orleans was unanimously rejected; he whose influence it was thought necessary to repress, was certainly not to be trusted with power.

The king ventured to propose the duke du Maine for regent during the minority. The chancellor told his majesty, that ever since the edict of July, our laws no longer excluded the duke from that honour, but that our manners were not as flexible as our laws; that France would never willingly obey a prince, who after the death of his father, would be no more than a subject, and equal with the rest; that such

a disposition would be considered as an injury done to the honour of the nation, and would give weight to the pretensions of the duke of Orleans.

The king, who still thought that no greater misfortune could happen to the nation, than to be governed by the duke of Orleans, proposed to create him chief of the councils, and appoint the duke du Maine lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Voisin opposed this design also. He said that two regents would never agree; that either he, who was master of the deliberations of the council, would become so of the army, or that he who was master of the army, would direct as he pleased the resolutions of the council; that an equality of power would necessarily create jealousy; that this jealousy would interrupt the administration of affairs; and from that interruption, numberless misfortunes must ensue to the state.

He added, that by no law of the kingdom, was the creation of a regent during a minority required; that the quality of next heir gave a claim to the succession, but not to the guardianship of the young king; that the duke of Orleans might, without any injustice, be deprived of the guardianship, and a council of regency be settled for the administration.

The king did not immediately relish this form of government. He conceived, that sovereign authority could not reside in a council without being divided; but at length he comprehended that unity of power might result from the sentiments of many, as well as from the sentiments of one single person. As soon as he had adopted this plan, 'Let us compose this council,' he cried, 'and let the members of it be so judiciously chosen, that we cannot exclude one without injuring the publick.'

This choice was solely dictated by a love for the country. The duke of Orleans had the first place, which was due to his birth. The duke du Maine and the count de Toulouse, sincerely attached to the state and the king; Voisin, whose profound knowledge in the laws and the business of the state, were universally acknowledged; Villeroy, one of the most honest men of the court; Villars, the most fortunate general of the age he lived in; d'Huxelles, of an inflexible virtue; Tallard, remarkable for the sweetness of his manners; d'Harcourt, the friend of all who were unhappy: these were the members named by the king; the four secretaries of state; and Desmarets, comptroller-general of the finances,

nances, the nephew, the pupil, and the rival of the great Colbert, had deliberative voices in this council, before which all affairs were to be brought, and decided by a plurality of votes.

This regulation was subject to very palpable inconveniencies ; for, first, it is not possible that affairs which come under the examination of so many persons, can be soon determined ; secondly, a people who have been accustomed to obey a monarch, will not easily be brought to endure the domination of a senate ; and, thirdly, it was imprudent to offer to an enlightened and discontented nation, the model of a new government, fatal if was oppressed by it, and dangerous if not.

But the king was persuaded, that the secretaries of state would continue to be masters each in his own department ; that the council of regency would reserve to themselves none but affairs of great importance ; and that several petty kings would be less pernicious, than the sovereign authority vested in a single person : he believed that the slow proceedings of an aristocratick government would better suit with a minority, than the celerity of the monarchal constitution. The king's chief design was to maintain peace, both within

and without the kingdom: it cannot be denied, but that by settling a council of regency, too numerous to be enterprizing, too full of jealousies to concert either a war abroad, or a revolution at home, he excellently well answered this design. This institution, notwithstanding its faults, was preferable to the plurality of councils afterwards established, a scheme so highly extolled by the abbé de Saint Pierre, and which, when so unfortunately put into execution, proved that Lewis the Fourteenth had, with reason, distrusted the abilities of his nephew.

However limited this prince's authority might be, yet it was to be feared that he would extend and abuse it. By the testament of Lewis, he was in all the deliberations of the council in case the opinions were divided, to have two votes. The duke of Orleans might often contrive to make this privilege necessary; he might influence the greater number by the mere grandeur of his name; he might intimidate his enemies by threats, always to be dreaded in the mouth of a prince so near to the succession; and seduce others by his talents and his intrigues.

There was a necessity to find a counterpoise. The duke du Maine seemed the fittest

fittest person to balance the duke of Orleans ; but as the abilities of these two princes were very unequal, the testator thought of an expedient to supply the deficiency in his son. The duke du Maine was appointed independent chief, and absolute commander of all the king's household troops, with full authority over the governor. Thus one had the advantage of genius, the other of power.

The other articles were of little importance. The king, constant to what was good, as well as obstinate in error, recommended to his successor the hospital of the invalids, the edicts against duels, the convent of Saint-Cyr, and the penal laws against the protestants. The author of the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth expresses some surprise that the king did not secure a pension to madame de Maintenon ; but it would have been more surprising if he had assigned her one. By such solicitude, he would have appeared to be ignorant of her extreme moderation, to have suspected her disinterestedness, and have rendered all her virtues doubtful. The silence of the testator concerning the wife, with whose participation he made his will, was the finest eulogium that could be given her.

This writing was sent to the parliament, accompanied with an edict, by which they were ordered to deposit it in the rolls, and not to open it till after the king's decease. This profound secrecy gave room for suspicion, that the dispositions in the testament were of great importance, and not at all favourable to the duke of Orleans.

By some it was said, that a king of France could not bequeath his power ; and that a tenant of the state exceeded his authority, when he disposed of the regency : but in general it was acknowledged, that Lewis as a father had a right to provide for the preservation of his grandson, and as a king for the security of the kingdom. He could not make new laws, but he might establish a government conformable to the old. A minority is a kind of interregnum: the sovereign power can never fall into a state of infancy ; it is the same as when the prince is of age, but the exercise of it is very different. The person of the prince represents the law, and the will of the testator causes it to be still executed.

Nothing was wanting to this testament but permanence and security : such of the grantees as were by the king appointed for

for the council of regency were interested in seeing it observed ; but not one of them knew that they were named, and this was a capital fault. The duke du Maine founded madame de Maintenon concerning the dispositions of the testament, who, vanquished by his importunity, prevailed upon the king to shew it to this prince and to his brother, upon condition that they should act as if they had not seen it.

The duke du Maine replied, that he was not desirous of being made acquainted with dispositions, which the inviolable secrecy that was required of him would render useless for him to know. The dutchess du Maine reproached him with this ill-timed caution : to repair it he asked whether the king had recalled Philip ; he found he had not, and from thence concluded that the duke of Orleans was appointed regent. When the dutchess du Maine was made acquainted with this secret, she endeavoured to form an intimacy and friendship between herself and the duke of Orleans, who readily entered into her views, supposing he should have more occasion for the support of his competitor, than he could have for his.

Accordingly the duke of Orleans proposed a marriage between mademoiselle de

Valois his daughter, and the prince of Dombes, son to the duke du Maine. The duke and dutchess du Maine shewed no solicitude to conclude an alliance displeasing to the king, because it would unite the chiefs of two families whom good policy required should be kept at a distance.

Madame de Maintenon, being informed of the duke du Maine's anxiety, and the pretensions of the duke of Orleans, represented to the king, that no respect would be shewn to his intentions after his death; if he did not while he lived take proper measures to restrain the inordinate ambition of his nephew. She intreated him to assemble the members he had named for the council of regency, to cause the testament to be read to them, and make each of them promise to preserve that portion of authority which was confided to him. She advised him also to secure the heads of the parliament in the interest of the Testament, as also his household troops.

Instead of taking these precautions which prudence suggested, the king prefixed a codicil to his will, in which he regulated the ceremonial at the opening of it, appointed father le Tellier for confessor to the dauphin, and for his preceptor the old bishop of Fréjus, the same who,
at

at sixty years, found the government of a small diocese very difficult, and at seventy-six, the management of a great empire very easy.

The duke of Orleans used his utmost endeavours, to discover the mystery so carefully concealed from him, and consequently so very unfavourable to his interest. But the fidelity of those who were intrusted with the secret was not to be corrupted: madame de Maintenon was impenetrable; and the chancellor could not be moved by the alluring promises that were made him. The duke of Orleans provided against every event; and although unable to foresee one, he ventured to oppose all. While he employed himself in smoothing the way to sovereign power, the duke du Maine was busied in translating the Anti-Lucretius. ‘You will, one of these fine mornings,’ said the dutchess his wife to him, ‘find yourself at waking, a member of the academy, and the duke of Orleans regent of France.’

CHAPTER XI.

The disgrace of Madame Des Ursins.

IN Spain the minds of the people were not more tranquil than in France. Madame Des Ursins still continued to be odious to the grandees, and the nation was extremely enraged against Orry, who had permitted the English to build a fort upon the Rio de Plata, and who was ignorant of every thing but the art of amassing riches. The queen of Spain died: she was greatly regretted by the people; they forgave her for the ill she had done, in consideration of her intentions, which were always good.

The first woman who offered herself to the eyes of the ardent Philip, consoled him for her he had just lost; and this woman was the princess Des Ursins. She had the honour to sup with him the evening after the queen's death: the palace resounded with murmurs against this scandalous novelty, the people, accustomed to look upon the prince as a god, were enraged to find him

him thus openly despising their prejudices. They had patiently endured the heaviest imposts, but could not excuse this indecent supper.

Father Rubio confessor to the late queen, and father Robinet confessor to the king, were divided in their opinions concerning the new-born passion of Philip for madame Des Ursins; the former maintained that it was wholly innocent, the latter declared it was an injury to the manes of the queen.

The princess Des Ursins suffered them to dispute, and soothed herself with hopes that her star called her to a throne. Already Philip had declared some tender sentiments to her; already she had insinuated to him that she was only sixty years of age. She was continually reminding him of his grandfather's marriage with madame de Maintenon, whom he would have placed on the throne, she said, if decency had permitted him: and to give herself that air of dignity, so suitable to her ambition, she refused to attend the corpse of the late queen to the Escorial, alledging that she had not been of her household, but had lived with her in the character of a friend.

When these reports came to Paris, Lewis the Fourteenth rejected them as fables : but madame de Maintenon, who had been informed of all the particulars of this ridiculous amour, said to the marchioness de Pompadour, who has often repeated it to the abbé——, the Florentine envoy at Paris, who is still living, *I hope we shall soon see madame Des Ursins queen of Spain, and declared queen.*

A mere trifle hindered the celebration of this marriage. Madame Des Ursins prevailed upon Philip to reside in the palace of the duke de Medina-Celi, and to enlarge it, by taking in the convent of the capuchin friars, that her apartment might have a communication with the king's. The bodies of the dead were dispossessed of their graves ; the holy sacrament was taken out of the church ; and the monks quitted their convent, walking in a melancholy procession. All Madrid exclaimed against this act of violence. Philip, being informed of the censures that were past upon his conduct, told the princess Des Ursins, that their private interviews gave scandal to the people, and intreated her to look out for a wife for him.

Ma-

Madame Des Ursins, fallen from the hope of reigning in her own person, was resolved at least to reign in another's. Being then embroiled with the French ambassador, she entered into a strict confidence and connection with the abbé Alberoni, an Italian curate, whom the duke de Vendôme had introduced to her, and whom Campistron the poet, had introduced to the duke de Vendôme. The princess Des Ursins consulted the abbé upon the choice of a queen for this monarch who was so great an enemy to celibacy. Alberoni determined her in favour of the princess of Parma; he told her this princess was weak, easy, and condescending, fond of pleasure, and insensible to ambition. Philip was soon brought to approve the choice that madame Des Ursins had made for him. Alberoni, by her recommendation, was charged with the care of negotiating this marriage: he departed with many protestations of inviolable fidelity to her interests, but with a fixed resolution to turn her artifices to his own advantage.

Madame Des Ursins was soon informed, that the princess of Parma was of a character very different from that which Alberoni had drawn of her. She represented

to the king, that the insolence of an ambitious wife would tarnish the lustre of his reign; that the affair was not yet concluded; and that it ought at least to be suspended till he had well considered of the consequences. Philip wrote instantly to his minister to drop the negociation. The courier arrived the evening before that day on which the whole affair was to be terminated. Alberoni was at first stunned with this unexpected stroke; but recovering himself, and having taken his resolution, he asked the courier whether he was willing to live or die; and ordering him not to appear till the next day, concluded the marriage.

The princess of Parma promised the abbé a recompence proportionable to the greatness of the establishment which he had procured for her, and of the affront which he had spared her. Alberoni wrote to Spain, that the courier had arrived too late. The new queen brought her benefactor to Madrid with her, in the quality of resident from Parma. When she arrived at Bayonne, she took lessons from her aunt, upon the country where she was going to reign. Philip came as far as Guadalaxara to meet her, and sent the princess Des Ursins to Xadraque to receive her. The queen told her, she was astonished

nished at her presumption in daring to appear before her. The princess Des Ursins delivered her a letter from the king, full of obliging compliments to her who received it, and of praises of her who presented it.

The queen, without opening this letter, commanded her to leave Spain. Madame Des Ursins intreated her to give her order under her own hand. The order was instantly signed, and given to her, with insults and imprecations, which could only proceed from the mouth of an offended queen.

The princess Des Ursins thus disgracefully banished, departed without any equipage and train, cursing the perfidious Alberoni, the imperious Parmesan, and the weak and credulous Philip. The new queen sent back Orry and father Robinet to France; and the king of Spain declared candidly, in an edict, that hitherto he had governed his people ill, but would govern them better for the future.

Lewis the Fourteenth would not permit madame Des Ursins to remain in France. The republick of Genoa would not give her an assylum, and the pope refused to receive her into Rome. Her let-

ters * display all her weakness, her artifices, and her despair; her death was approaching fast, and she still aspired to reign.

CHAPTER XII.

Sequel of the affairs of the church.

CARDINAL Noailles, desirous of being reunited to the church, published at length a pastoral letter, in which he promised to manifest the soundness of his faith, and to reconcile all differences. This letter gave satisfaction to all that read it, except Rohan and Bissy. The king, who was prejudiced by these two prelates, expected no good consequences from the interposition of the cardinals D'Estrées and Polignac. 'Without being a divine,' said he, 'I can see plainly, that the cardinal de Noailles is an heretick. I will make use of all my authority, to force him to an explanation of his sentiments.'

Accordingly the king caused several reports to be spread, that were most likely

* A collection of these letters will be published, if the publick should demand it.

to intimidate the cardinal. It was affirmed, that his majesty would permit the nuncio to interpose his authority against this rebel to the church; that the cardinal would be summoned in person to Rome, seized and imprisoned: and all this for pronouncing a bull to be obscure, in a religion where even the holy scripture is charged with obscurity.

Cardinal Noailles readily consented to make some alterations in his form of acceptance upon the remarks given in by his enemies. He adopted every reasonable measure which could contribute to the peace of the church, without wounding his own conscience. Cardinal Polignac assured the king, that the doctrine of Noailles was absolutely pure; and that the bishops themselves, who had accepted the bull, acknowledged this truth. ‘You give me great satisfaction by this assurance,’ said the king, ‘I am now easy.’ ‘But,’ added he, ‘forty against eight! How is it possible to ballance a moment between the two parties?’

‘Sire,’ replied Polignac, ‘to speak justly, it is not forty against eight, but rather two against eight; for the cardinal de Rohan and the bishop of Meaux have been the chief promoters of this disturbance.’

It

It was now resolved that the affair should be once more carried to Rome. The publick were rejoiced at this news: they did not doubt, but the pope would be more moderate than father le Tellier. The bishop of Meaux proposed that a national council should be held, and made a list of those persons who were to fill the sees vacant by the deposition of the rebellious bishops.

The king, mean time expected with anxious impatience, the cardinal's pastoral letter. He received it at length, but did not find it such as cardinal Polignac had promised him. 'The cardinal de Bouillon,' said the king, 'durst presume, in a kind of frenzy, to tell me he was not my subject: but the cardinal de Noailles breaks in writing the promise he has solemnly given.'

Cardinal Polignac was accused of having imposed upon the king. 'His majesty is convinced,' said madame de Maintenon, 'that cardinal Polignac has conceived and given hopes, as light and insincere as himself.' The cardinal was greatly affected with this charge: he was sensible how much he had fallen in the esteem of the publick, and was anxious to justify himself,

himself, but could not resolve to say any thing to the prejudice of cardinal Noailles. The king was even informed that he attempted to excuse him. ‘ Monsieur,’ said Lewis to him, ‘ truth is always the same ; when you are with me, you complain of the archbishop of Paris, and to others you speak very differently : what am I to understand by this ?’

These words threw Polignac into the utmost consternation ; he went to madame de Caylus, and told her, with great emotion, that the king thought him light and superficial ; that madame de Maintenon accused him of insincerity ; that cardinal Noailles believed him false to friendship ; that Rohan and Bissy considered him as one whom they could crush into nothing ; and that by the publick he was looked upon as one dishonoured and undone.

The king at length resolved to call a national council, and sent monsieur Amelot to Rome to solicit the pope’s permission for it, as if the first emperors had not summoned oecumenical councils without the pope’s consent. Amelot departed, after having received the king’s orders, the furious memorials of Bissy, and the calm and modest apology of Noailles.

The

The cardinal de Rohan being apprehensive that he should lose the honour of accommodating this affair, renewed the proceedings in France: he confided the management of it to father Maffilon, an excellent orator, but one who had no great abilities for negotiation. This father presented several forms of acceptation to cardinal Noailles; but in each his eminence was required to acknowledge that he had approved a bad book, and condemned a good bull.

The king intreated madame de Maintenon to use all her endeavours to secure the success of this new attempt, in which he was not willing to appear; she was assisted on this occasion by the duke de Noailles, whose partiality no one feared, and by the bishop of Meaux, who concealed his from her alone.

The jesuits opposed the convening a council, whose decisions they feared, if free; and believed useless, if otherwise. The bishop of Meaux again went to cringe to the metropolitan, whom he sought to depose; he proposed several expedients to him, which were all refused, as tending to the acceptation of the bull. 'Is it then your intention,' said he to the cardinal,

cardinal, 'to humble the sovereign pontiff?' 'No,' replied Noailles, 'but I will not violate truth.'

Valincourt and the abbé Meingui now undertook the affair: they found themselves without power, they treated without frankness, and parted without success. Every day cardinal Rohan proposed some new measures; but, at the moment when all seemed determined, he would cry, he must speak to the king, that is, to father le Tellier; and nothing was concluded.

The pope had entered into every possible method of conciliation; no one less believed in his infallibility than himself; but, tired out with these long delays, he dispatched a rigorous brief into France, the purport of which was to deprive Noailles of the dignity of a cardinal, and afterwards to cite him to Rome. But before this could be done it was necessary that the cardinal should be also deprived of his privileges as a Frenchman, and the holy father found no difficulty in believing that a king of France could take from a citizen the rights of a citizen, without having condemned him. The next day the pope dispatched a gentle brief, which cardinal Noailles however thought very severe.

This

This prelate was now prepared against the worst that could happen to him ; he was told that he would be carried to Conflans, confined in a place where the father confessor would be his goaler, conducted to Rome under a strong guard, and imprisoned in the castle of Saint-Angelo for the rest of his life. The cardinal listened to this discourse with the indifference of one whom it did not in the least concern.

The nuncio received another brief, in which the archbishop of Paris was ordered to accept the bull in fifteen days, upon pain of canonical punishment. This severe brief was accompanied with a letter from the pope to the king, in which the holy father intreated his majesty to suffer his nuncio to act uncontrolled in this affair. The king answered like a protector of the laws of his kingdom, ' I will not suffer it ; the pope is master in his own states, but not of one of my subjects.' However, he was willing that the cardinal should be deposed by the decree of a council. But the pope would not abandon himself to *a hundred wolves, who, said he, would devour me while alive.*

Cardinal

Cardinal Noailles wrote his mandate ; the jesuits condemned it, the pope admired it ; the king would not suffer it to be published, lest it should give offence to his holiness, and the French were, on this occasion, more Ultramontaines than the Ultramontaines themselves. When madame de Maintenon heard this news, ‘ I comprehend nothing of this affair,’ she cried, ‘ if the cardinal is a Jansenist, the pope must certainly be one also.’

The cardinal’s enemies were more certain of the king’s concurrence in their measures, than with that of the council ; they drew up a declaration, by which his majesty, as pope of the Gallican church, denounced the punishment of hereticks against all who should refuse the bull. But if the bishops betrayed the church, the magistracy defended it. The first president and the attorney-general, when they received this declaration from the hands of the king, looked on each other in an emphatick silence. ‘ Speak’, said the king to them. ‘ We are apprehensive,’ replied one of them, ‘ that your majesty by this declaration encroaches upon the authority of the church.’ ‘ I have done nothing now,’ replied the king with great simplicity, ‘ but what I
‘ am

‘ am told I may do, and what I have
‘ done before.’

The king’s answer amounted only to this: I have judged the Huguenots, therefore I may certainly judge the Jansenists. But, enraged that the parliament should presume to question that authority which was invoked by the prelates, he said that he would hold a bed of justice. Voisin haughtily threatened the first president; who replied, ‘ Do you imagine you are
‘ the chancellor of a king of twenty-five
‘ years of age?’

CHAPTER XIII.

The death of the king.

LEWIS, loaded with age and afflictions, fell into a swift decay. Madame de Maintenon perceived it, was alarmed, yet would not acknowledge to herself her fears. The duke du Maine intreated her to persuade the king of the necessity there was, that before his death, he should take proper measures to render his testament permanent and secure. Madame

dame de Maintenon could not be prevailed upon to undertake this task, either because she thought his death not so near, or that she was apprehensive of hastening it by representing to a prince, to whom Daguaſſeau's opposition to the declaration had given a mortal wound, that his parliament might poſſibly fail in their obedience to his laſt will.

When the king returned from Marly he appeared ſo weak and ill, that madame de Maintenon thought of nothing but of preparing him for eternity. She propoſed to him to receive the ſacraments. 'It is 'time enough yet,' ſaid the king. 'I 'find myſelf very well.' She repreſented to him, that he could not too ſoon implore a pardon from God for his ſins; and reminded him of ſeveral which ſhe had been a witneſs of. The king made a general confeſſion to his director, and afterwards ſaid, 'Now I am eaſy.'

He called for his caſket, and examined all his papers. He ordered one to be burnt, ſaying, 'This will ſet the two 'ministers at variance.' He found a roſary, which he gave to madame de Maintenon, ſaying, with a ſmile, 'I do 'not give you this as a reliſh, but as a 'token to remember me by.'

His

His first surgeon Fagon declared that the limb had mortified, and that there was no longer any hope. He pronounced this sad sentence with tears and sighs. 'Did you then believe me immortal?' said the king to him.

Maréchal made two incisions with a lancet. The king felt no pain, but fainted. The physicians, seeing his fortitude, proposed amputation. 'Will amputation save my life?' said the king. 'Speak freely.' Maréchal replied, that there was little probability of it. 'Well,' said the king, 'if it will be useless, why would you give me more pain?' He then turned to that side of the bed where marshal Villeroi was, and said to him, 'Adieu, my friend; we must part.'

At Paris and at court they murmured loudly against father le Tellier, for daring to let his penitent die, separated from the communion with his own particular pastor. These murmurs even reached madame de Maintenon, who asked the king whether he had any personal enmity to the cardinal? 'No truly,' replied the king, 'and if he will come hither soon enough, I will embrace him, provided he

‘ he will submit to the pope; for I am
‘ resolved to die a good Catholick, as I
‘ have lived.’ A courier was instantly
dispatched to the cardinal, who found him
prostrate before the holy sacrament.

Father le Tellier endeavoured to preserve his influence over the king during his last moments. He pressed him earnestly to sign a paper, by which the duke of Orleans and the parliament of Paris should be obliged to maintain the bull. He offered it four times, and four times it was refused. The king’s attendants forbid him to mention again that constitution which had murdered their sovereign.

From the time that the king was seized with his last illness, madame de Maintenon had caused a bed to be put up for her in his apartment. She was witness to his sufferings and his fortitude. Her whole soul was penetrated with these frequent aspirations: *Will these agonies continue longer still? Oh, my God! life or death is equal to me: all I implore is the salvation of my soul I have no restitutions to make as a private man, but as a prince Who will pay the kingdom’s debts. My God, I trust in thy mercy I suffer, but I suffer not enough, and that afflicts me.*

He ordered the duke du Maine to be called, and confided to him the regulations made in his testament. The prince thanked him for the dangerous honour he conferred on him ; but added, that the duke of Orleans would be offended at it. *You will be above his resentment,* replied the king.

He embraced the duke of Orleans ; he told him that he had always loved him, and that he would find by his testament that he had not injured him. He earnestly recommended it to him to become pious and good, and to preserve to Lewis the Fifteenth his kingdom. Observing that at this word madame de Maintenon sighed, ‘ *Why this concern?*’ added he ; ‘ *I am willing to die.*’

He ordered the dauphin to be brought to him, and, taking him in his arms, *My child,* said he to him, *you are soon to be a great king ; be always a good christian. I have been too fond of war : shun my example there, endeavour to live in peace with your neighbours. In all your actions have the glory of God in view. Conduct yourself so as to be honoured by your subjects. Love them. I am grieved,* added he, *sighing, for the condition I leave them in.*

in. Always follow such councils as are most moderate. Endeavour to lessen the taxes: do what I have been unhappy enough not to have done. Never forget the obligations you have to madame de Ventadour. As for me, madam, added he, addressing himself to the governess of the young prince, I cannot sufficiently shew how much I am indebted to you.

The king, after giving these counsels, and making this magnanimous confession of the errors of his reign, embraced his grandson twice, gave him his blessing, and raising his supplicating hands to heaven, uttered an ardent prayer for the young prince, while he followed him with his eyes as he was carried out of his apartment.

The princesses his daughters entered, lamenting aloud. *There is no necessity for crying thus*, said the king to them, smiling. Two of them, between whom a quarrel was then subsisting, were reconciled immediately. The king exhorted the duke of Bourbon to maintain union in the royal family, and recommended to the example of the prince of Conti, the virtues of his ancestors.

After receiving the viaticum, he said to the cardinals de Rohan and Bissy, *I am*
M 2 *well*

well assured of your zeal for the truth. I have left proper orders for supporting you after my death. God is my witness, that I have had only the peace of the church in view. I had hoped to establish it; God has been pleased to reserve this blessing for another. I have been thought in this affair to have acted upon prejudice, and to have abused my authority. I wish it may be happily terminated in other hands.

The same day he gave orders that all the lords should be permitted to enter his apartment, and said to them, *Gentlemen, I ask your pardon for the bad examples I have given you. I return you my thanks for the affection you have always expressed for me, and I make it my request that you would preserve the same fidelity to my grandson. I recommend to you all to promote a general union; and if any one of you should break it, use your utmost endeavours to recall him to his duty. I feel myself greatly moved, and I perceive that I move you also. Adieu, gentlemen; remember me sometimes.*

As for you, monsieur le Maréchal, said he, addressing himself to Villeroi, I give you dying a new mark of my confidence; I appoint you governor to the dauphin. You know by my testament how you are to act with regard to the duke du Maine. I hope
my

my nephew will live with you as he ought to do with a man that I have ever loved.

After having recommended the administration of the finances to Desmaretz, and the foreign affairs to Torcy; and do you, monsieur Pontchartrain, added he, in a resolute accent, *expedite a brevet, exactly in the same form with that of the late king, for delivering my heart to the jesuits.*

The king took his leave of all his friends and relations with a dry eye; but when he took leave of madame de Maintenon he could not restrain his tears. *I regret nothing but you*, said he to her: *I have not made you happy; but all the sentiments of affection and esteem, which you have so well deserved, those I have always had for you.* He said the most tender and obliging things to her, which she afterwards committed to paper, and joined to her last will. And before all the princes he added, *My only affliction is to part with you; but I hope to see you soon again in eternity* *.

* I shall not be at the trouble to refute the gross falsehood reported by monsieur de Bouldeuc, the king's first apothecary: he declared that madame de Maintenon, turning to the company, said, *What a fine rendezvous he has given me! This man never loved any thing but himself.*

When the princes were withdrawn he said to her, *What will become of you? You have nothing. I beseech you, said she, do not think of me. I am nothing.* He raised himself up in his bed to embrace her; but, finding his tears ready to flow with violence, he bid her observe if any person was listening; *Although, added he, no one can be surpris'd that I should be melted into grief at parting with you.*

He ordered the duke of Orleans to be called, and said to him, *Nephew, I recommend madame de Maintenon to you. You know the sentiments I have always entertained for her. She has never given me any but good counsels, and I repent that I have not followed them all. She has been of great use to me, upon every occasion, but especially to bring me back again to God. Grant all her requests; she will never abuse your kindness.* The duke of Orleans repeating this conversation, said, in the presence of a relation of madame de Maintenon's, 'I thought at that moment that he was going to declare his marriage to me.'

The last words the king uttered were address'd to madame de Maintenon; upon recovering from a fainting fit that held him a long time, *You must certainly, madam,*
said

said he, *have great fortitude, and great affection for me, to remain here so long. Withdraw, I beseech you. I know what you must suffer with such a spectacle before your eyes, but I hope all will be soon over.* He grew delirious, he no longer knew any one about him, Madame de Maintenon returned to her own apartment, to weep at liberty for her king, her friend, and her husband.





BOOK THE SIXTEENTH.

IT is not to be expected that the last book will be either long or interesting. What can we seek to know in the life of madame de Maintenon, when, with respect to the publick, that life is at an end? When Lewis the Fourteenth was no more, she ceased to be: the publick curiosity necessarily ends with the person who excited it. She is nothing now but a feeble body loaded with years and infirmities, buried in a cloister, exhausted with pain, or languishing in a bed. Let us however have the same curiosity as the Czar Peter expressed; let us draw the curtain, and contemplate her once more in her last moments.

CHAP.

CHAPTER I.

*Madame de Maintenon retires to St.
Cyr.*

THE king still breathed, and while ^{Aug. 29} his most faithful servants were dissolved in tears about his bed, the courtiers pressed round the duke of Orleans: madame de Maintenon asked herself, whether she ought to wait for the last mortal stroke, or spare her afflicted heart this dreadful duty. She thought it shameful not to close the king's eyes, and imprudent to expose herself to that publick excess of grief which the sight of such a corps must inspire. Her attendance was now no longer of any use; his senses were gone; he was struggling with death; he suffered perhaps, but at least she should see him still.

Every moment she asked Fagon questions concerning the king. She went herself to seek the dreadful certainty; with trembling impatience she directed her streaming eyes to that face already covered with the shades of death. She sent ma-

demoiselle d'Aumale to see if it was true, that there no longer remained any hope.

Marshal Villeroi, who was the witness of these violent agitations, conjured her to retire. 'It is my duty,' answered she, 'to receive his last sigh, and I have still strength and courage enough for that sad office.' Her tears and sobs shewed the want of that resolution of which she boasted. 'Alas madame,' said Villeroi to her, 'I lose my benefactor, and can with difficulty keep my grief within bounds; you lose the best of friends; how will it be possible for you to restrain yours? are you willing that all France should see you deliver yourself up to the first transports of your sorrow?' 'But,' resumed madame de Maintenon, 'he still lives, and perhaps will wish to see me once more. 'Alas!' cried she sobing, 'if his last looks should seek me, and find me not.'

The marshal promised her, that, if he once pronounced her name, she should be immediately informed of it, and at length persuaded her to depart: however, she insisted that the abbé Briderei, her confessor, should see the king, and assure her that she was no longer necessary to him.

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She was apprehensive of meeting with those insults which the favourites of deceased kings generally suffer from the populace ; she therefore went from Versailles to Saint-Cyr in marshal Villeroy's coach, who caused his own servants to escort her, and placed guards at equal distances upon the road : precautions which her friend thought unnecessary while he took them. He knew that if calumny had formerly endeavoured to blacken her character, she had silenced calumny for many years. All Versailles was witness to her virtue ; were there any poor there, whom she had not succoured ? any families reduced to secret poverty, whom she had not secretly relieved ? Her resolute piety, in exhorting the dying king, had been so much admired in Paris, and in the neighbouring provinces, that it was repeated from mouth to mouth, *She is not a woman, she is an angel.*

She arrived at Saint-Cyr with mademoiselle d'Aumale, who was ever most faithfully attached to her. She wept, but she wept like a christian. ' My grief is great,' said she to her by the way, ' but it is soft and tranquil. I shall often weep, but my tears will be tears of tenderness ; for, in the bottom of my heart, his christian death gives me joy. I have

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‘ already offered a thansgiving to God for
‘ it. From the beginning of his sickness,
‘ I have never prayed for his life, but for
‘ his salvation.’

Some moments afterwards she said,
‘ Let us go and weep for him, and, by
‘ our prayers, hasten his glory in heaven ;’
and again, ‘ let us no longer think of
‘ any thing but our salvation and of doing
‘ good works.’ These words were interrupted by floods of tears ; and mademoiselle d’Aumale, full of sympathizing sorrow, considered with wonder a mind naturally firm and resolute, at this moment weak to excess, striving to assume fortitude, and finding itself too exquisitely tender.

When she perceived Saint-Cyr, she said,
‘ Alas ! that house loses its father and its
‘ mother. I shall soon become useless to
‘ it, after having been its support with him
‘ for whom we weep.’ When she entered, her tears and her groans redoubled. ‘ God and my children,’ cried she, ‘ shall now
‘ wholly possess me.’ These children passed in review before her, to the end that every object which could augment her grief might be united in that sad day. To the ladies she said, ‘ Let us employ the remainder of our lives in inspiring them
‘ with that solid piety, which the king had
‘ happily acquired.’ When she named
the

the king, she could not restrain her tears. She said to madame de Glapion, who appeared astonished to see so much weakness joined with so much fortitude, 'Daughter, 'one may weep for a king.'

Marshal Villeroi sent a courier to her every hour with messages concerning the dying monarch. She passed the night and the two following days in expecting these messages, in receiving them, in expecting them again, and in despair at having received them. She prayed, she wept, she spoke, she thought only of the king, and was wholly regardless of herself.

The king was dead, and no one durst inform Sep. 20 her of it. At length mademoiselle d'Aumale entered the chamber, and, in a mournful accent, said to her, 'Madam, the whole afflicted community is at church.' Madame de Maintenon rose immediately, went to the choir, assisted at the office for the dead, and the next day at the service: tears might have been suspected of some returning anxiety for herself, prayers could not be so; in her was not seen that desolation which usually attends excessive sorrow; she expressed no regret for the loss of her grandeur; her lips uttered no complaint for the cruel future which she foresaw: sadness was painted upon every face; every thing concurred to augment her affliction, yet she carefully

fully suppressed every emotion which might manifest its force. The archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Chartres came to mourn with her. As soon as she perceived them, she kneeled, and desiring their benediction, said to them, ' I put myself into your hands, in all probability I shall die there.' The prelates raised her, confused at giving their benediction to her whom they so highly revered.

CHAPTER II.

The king's testament cancelled.

THE outrage which was afterwards offered to the memory of the late king, did not permit any cessation to her grief. The day after his death the parliament assembled; the French guards, with the duke of Guiche at their head, took possession of the avenues and the court of the palace. The great hall was filled with officers, who had arms under their cloaths. Paris, with eager impatience, expected the master that was to be given to her; at length the duke of Orleans entered: that man, so intrepid at the head of an army,

my, trembled before the senate, by whom his claims were to be decided ; and, in a faltering accent, thus delivered himself.

‘ Gentlemen, the first of subjects owes
‘ to his king the most faithful attachment ;
‘ he, whom we lost, well knew that this
‘ was my sentiment ; and hence proceeded
‘ that confidence he placed in me, when, a
‘ few minutes before his death, he expressed
‘ himself in this manner, ‘ *Nephew*, said
‘ he to me, after having received the via-
‘ ticum, *I have made a testament, in which*
‘ *I have reserved to you all the rights and*
‘ *privileges of your birth. I recommend the*
‘ *dauphin to you ; be as faithful to him as*
‘ *you have been to me, and preserve his king-*
‘ *dom to him. If France should lose him,*
‘ *you will be her sovereign, and the crown*
‘ *will belong to you.*’

The first part of this speech was true ; the following was not so ; and the last was odious. Those who knew, that by the secret articles of Rastat the duke of Orleans was excluded from the throne, were alarmed at so gross a falshood. The friends of the late king perceived that no one believed him, and turned pale to find that he was listened to without any emotion.

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The duke of Orleans continued thus: ‘To
‘ these words the king added many others
‘ too advantageous for me to allow me to
‘ repeat them, and concluded with saying,
‘ *I have made such dispositions in my will,*
‘ *as I thought the most prudent and wise ;*
‘ *but as it is not possible to look far into*
‘ *futurity, and provide against every acci-*
‘ *dent, if there be any thing wrong, I de-*
‘ *sire that it may be altered.* These were
‘ his own words,’ added the duke, lower-
ing his voice, ashamed of pleading before
such an august assembly the force of words
heard by himself alone, as sufficient to in-
validate or belie the written articles of a
will.

‘ I am therefore convinced,’ pursued the
duke, ‘ that according to the laws of the
‘ kingdom, to past examples, and to the
‘ will of the late king, that the regency
‘ belongs to me ; but I shall not be sa-
‘ tisfied, if, to so many just claims, you do
‘ not join your approbation, by which I
‘ shall be no less honoured than by the
‘ regency itself.’

This artful compliment smoothed the
wrinkled brows of those old counsellors,
who, after having been so long deprived of
the privilege of making remonstrances,
found

found the right of making laws now attributed to them.

‘ I therefore make it my request to you,’ continued the duke, ‘ that when you read the testament of the late king, you will not confound my several claims, but equally take under your consideration the right which my birth gives me to the regency, and that by which the testament may enforce it, but begin with the former.’ A proposal absolutely contradictory, which, while it expressed the highest respect for the testament, tended to annul it by a preliminary decree.

The regency either is, or is not the hereditary right of the duke of Orleans: if it be, he enters immediately upon the possession of it, and then why deliberate? why did the master appear here as a suppliant? If it be not, with what face could the parliament be assembled, by virtue of the late king’s will, only to make publick his intentions which were confided to them, to hear another subject of deliberation proposed to them; to be intreated to discuss what was already judged, and which they could not determine, although it had not been determined before.

But

But,' resumed the duke of Orleans, ' by whatever claim the regency is granted to me, I may venture to assure you, gentlemen, that I will merit it by my zeal for the publick good ; and that I will labour, in concert with you, to render the state happy and flourishing.'

This promise compleated in all the members of the assembly, that blind submission which corruption had begun in some. Already the parliament thought itself associated in the empire, and assumed the sentiments of a sovereign, unconcerned for the death of him who had deprived them of all power, devoted to the prince who restored all to them again.

The whole assembly turned their eyes upon the duke du Maine ; some feared, others hoped that he would rise up and oppose this demand. He kept a profound silence, secretly condemning himself for the fault which he had committed, which was likely to produce so many others. He had neglected to execute that article of the codicil, by which the command of the household troops was that day to devolve to Villeroi, who, after having promised to receive orders from him in all things, had permitted

permitted the duke of Guiche to take upon him this command.

The testament was read with great rapidity, and so low that it could not be distinctly heard. The duke du Maine's friends now flattered themselves, that he would speak, but he was still silent ; however he had many arguments to urge, and many just claims to defend. He might have represented to the assembly, that the testament, by declaring the duke of Orleans head of the council of regency, preserved to him the right that was given him by birth ; that by no law or statute of the kingdom could the regency belong to the first prince of the blood ; that a king has doubtless the same right as a father, of appointing one, or several guardians to his children ; of choosing these guardians out of his own family, or among his friends ; of preferring a near, or a distant relation ; that the quality of the nearest heir gave a right to the succession, but not to the guardianship ; that it was not fit that a ward should be in the power of his presumptive heir ; that by no law this was enjoined ; but that it were to be wished that there was a law to forbid it ; that the mothers of minor kings had always possessed the regency, notwithstanding the opposition they

they met with from the first princes of the blood.

Such a speech would at least have done honour to the duke du Maine, and justified the choice made by his father; but, in this important day, his understanding was as useless to him as his sword. The president Luber, the first president de Maisons, many members of the assembly, many officers of the army, several peers, waited only for a courageous opposition from him to declare themselves on his side. He might have made a division in the assembly; the affair would have then been more cautiously deliberated upon, and the testament of a king would at least have been as much respected as that of a private man.

If he had ventured to remind them of the many powerful reasons which Lewis the Fourteenth had to confide the care of the minor to any other protector than the duke of Orleans, he would have created an irreconcilable enmity in the duke towards him; by awakening in the hearts of all good Frenchmen their natural affection for their kings, he would have exposed him to the publick hatred. If he had told him boldly, that he himself ought to refuse the guardianship of a minor,
whose

whose death, by whatever accident it might happen, must necessarily raise a thousand reports injurious to his character, he would have confounded him.

The armed men, with which the palace was surrounded and filled, were in the interest of the duke of Orleans, but would not have massacred the duke du Maine. These men, devoted to the party which prevailed, waited anxiously for the event, but had no thought of determining it. The suffrages were free; the duke du Maine believed they were not so: even under this persuasion he might have known that the son of a king could have restored the freedom of voting according to conscience; but he deserted himself, and in the eyes of the whole assembly, only appeared the son of madame de Montespan.

The parliament gave the sovereign power to him who demanded it; and, upon a bare reading, cancelled the most judicious and the most respectable of testaments: it was not the decree of a judge, it was the edict of a legislator. No rules, no formalities were observed; they decreed peremptorily; they did not even condescend to explain the motives of their decrees; they heard not the arguments of the contesting parties; they condemned the sacred
regu-

regulations of the greatest of kings; they gave a master to the whole kingdom, although they had only the right of making regulations for the inferior courts of their jurisdiction; they only said, *That the court and all the chambers assembled, having taken the affair under deliberation, had declared, and did declare the duke of Orleans regent of France; and, under that title, to have the administration of all the affairs of the kingdom, during the minority.*

The duke of Orleans had offered to submit to a council of regency; the parliament subjected him to it. The prince, transported with his first success, was on the point of giving up every thing to the council and the parliament. The abbé Dubois, who foresaw the consequences of this imprudent joy, assured him in a billet, that if he did not instantly break up the parliament, he would give himself two associates in the supreme power. The duke of Orleans deferred any farther deliberation till the afternoon. In the mean time his friends composed a speech for him, concerning the inconveniences of divided authority: he appeared again in the assembly; he had before spoke like a suppliant, he now spoke like a master; he insisted that the whole power should be vested in him alone; he consented to take
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the advice of the council upon affairs of state ; but reserved to himself the distribution of all employments, as if the choice of persons proper for these employments was not an affair of the highest importance : then it was that he pronounced these words, so noble in one sense, so ridiculous on this occasion, *I am overjoyed to find my hands tied up from evil, and free to do good.*

Whatever arrets he desired, were granted by the parliament, which followed implicitly the sudden revolutions of his will. By one arret, the superintendance of the king's education was given to the duke du Maine ; by another, the command of the king's household troops, and even of the guards which did duty every day near his person, were taken from him. At length the duke du Maine broke silence ; he demanded to be discharged from being answerable for the king's person. The duke of Orleans granted his request ; and the parliament, lavish of its arrets, was upon the point of ratifying this grant by a new act of sovereignty, when the duke du Maine was prevailed upon to desist, the indecency of his request being forceably urged to him.

The duke of Orleans, having all his wishes gratified, flattered the people ; and
was

was as unreasonably adored by them, as he had been unjustly hated. They had been fatigued with the preceding reign ; they termed it the iron age ; they were in a condition that needed relief and comfort ; they indulged the most agreeable hopes ; they caught at the bare shadow of publick felicity.

The wiser part were surpris'd at this unhop'd-for revolution : by some it was attributed to the dexterity of the duke of Orleans, and the treachery of madame de Maintenon. They said, and twenty historians * have repeated it after them, that madame de Maintenon, being after the king's death full of anxious fears for herself, and foreseeing, by the difference of characters and great inequality of abilities, that the duke du Maine must necessarily be oppress'd by the duke of Orleans, resolv'd to sacrifice the former to her own security, and by revealing the secret dispositions of the testament to the latter, procure a powerful friend to herself.

They added, that she was determin'd to this measure, by the necessity of guarding her nephew the duke de Noailles, from the vengeance of the duke of Orleans,

* See the life of Philip duke of Orleans,

who

who had been personally offended by some injurious reflections, which that nobleman had indiscreetly thrown out against him, the remembrance of which she could only hope to efface, by a service of such signal importance. According to them therefore the duke de Noailles revealed the whole mystery to the prince ; and offered him his own and the services of his whole family, which by its alliances was become one of the most powerful in the kingdom. The offers were accepted, the injury was forgot, the post of president of the finances promised, the duke de Guiche, colonel of the French guards, gained over to the interest of the duke of Orleans, and all necessary measures taken to secure the army in their interest.

But it was likewise necessary that the parliament should be corrupted ; and the inventors of this tale could not be at a loss for a proper intrigue. The connections which cardinal Noailles had with many of the members of this body, dissatisfied with father le Tellier for being the cause of their children's exclusion, made it easy for him to treat with the principal men amongst them in favour of the duke of Orleans.

The conferences were held at the palace royal, whither the archbishop of

Paris, the president de Maisons, monsieur de Fleuri advocate-general, monsieur d'Aguesseau attorney-general, messieurs de Fortia, the abbé Pucelles, and Gaumont, came through one of those houses which had a communication with the gardens of this palace. The duke of Orleans and the abbé Dubois, went in the night in different disguises to the episcopal palace.

There it was determined that the duke of Orleans should be regent ; that the cardinal de Noailles should be chief of the council of conscience ; the president de Maisons keeper of the seals ; d'Aguesseau chancellor ; and monsieur de Fleuri attorney-general ; that Pucelles, Fortia, and Gaumont, should have honourable employments ; that father le Tellier should be driven from the court ; that those who had been banished on account of the constitution Unigenitus should be recalled ; the parliament re-established in its prerogatives ; and the duke de Noailles consulted in all affairs.

A calumny gross and ridiculous, refuted by its own absurdity. The most virtuous persons of the kingdom were chose to act the basest parts imaginable ; and those who were most faithfully attached to the late king, accused of treacherously violating

lating his last commands. This fact turns entirely upon the perfidy of madame de Maintenon, a perfidy directly opposite to her character, to her affection for the duke du Maine, to every duty she owed the king, always so faithfully fulfilled by her; her former intimate connections with the legitimated princes, the esteem and respect ever expressed for her by all the faithful servants of the late king, the tears which she continued to shed even till her death, at the remembrance of that iniquitous day when the testament of Lewis was cancelled, all concur to prove the improbability of her having engaged in such unjustifiable measures.

The duke of Orleans knew the regulations in the testament no sooner than the publick; this his timidity, his perplexed speech to the parliament, sufficiently shew: but although he was ignorant of the late king's intentions, he caballed because he suspected they were not favourable to him. These censurers judged of what had passed, by what they saw. They saw the family of Noailles in great favour, and several magistrates in high credit: they did not doubt (such is the natural malignity of man) that this favour, this credit, were the rewards of their treason; as if the necessity the regent lay under of faithful friends and wise coun-

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cils,

cils, was not sufficient to account for the elevation of persons, whose interest was able to support him, whose wisdom was capable of advising him.

The views of the duke of Orleans must have necessarily been very vague and uncertain. If we examine his whole conduct, we shall find in it no regulated plan, no settled measure, no party secured; he had pretensions, but he had formed no scheme: and those pretensions the duke du Maine might easily have overthrown, if he had not given his competitor time to make himself be beloved. With the posts of grand master of the artillery, colonel general of the Swiss and carabiniers, and governor of Languedoc, he was master of as many forces as the duke of Orleans.

The count de Toulouse, the duke d'Antin, the marshals Villars and Villeroy, the cardinals Polignac, Bissy, Rohan, all the courtiers who had been faithfully devoted to Lewis the Fourteenth, would have supported him with their friends: whoever could have brought forth the young king to the view of the people, might have become the regent. The duke of Orleans detested in Paris, unknown in the provinces, forgot by the army, odious to good catholicks, indifferent to the Jansenists,

senists, would have been joined only by the licentious and desperate youth of the city : he might have raised a sedition, he could not have supported a war ; and if he had kindled one, he would have been considered as a rebel.

With the French, the party which is strengthened with the person of the king, is always the just and the victorious party. The duke of Orleans had indeed declared, that he would perish rather than submit to the testament. The duke du Maine might have despised his threats ; his filial piety, his attachment to his king, his private interest, the good of the state, all required that he should take such measures as would best secure the person of the minor, the welfare of the kingdom, and preserve to himself his own indisputable rights.

To secure his own glory and illustrious rank, was a part of his duty : he mistook it ; he abandoned that rank which he ought to have asserted with the peril of his life. By some his moderation was highly praised, by others it was condemned. Those who judged of the duke of Orleans by the first edicts he issued, were rejoiced that the power had fallen into his hands : but when they saw the same man openly condemn those obligations which

his promises had laid him under, promises of which he had been so lavish, they regretted the loss of that administration ordained by the testament. They accused the duke du Maine of having betrayed his country; they murmured against the parliament; they loudly declared, that the most bloody civil war would be less fatal than this pacifick regency.

CHAPTER III.

The duke of Orleans visits madame de Maintenon.

IT was, with the deepest sorrow, that madame de Maintenon learned the outrage that had been offered to the memory of Lewis the Fourteenth. She foresaw, that the duke du Maine would be soon degraded from his rank as prince of the blood; that the affairs of the church would be irreverently treated; that impiety and libertinism would be openly countenanced and protected by a prince who was himself a deist and a debauchee; that the finances would be shamefully squandered away; and the French be governed

verned by caprice, till their disobedience had informed him, they could only be governed by laws.

Full of these sad presages, she trembled to see the life of the young king in the power of him who must necessarily be the greatest gainer by his death : not that she suspected the duke and dutchess of Burgundy were hurried out of the world ; but to an epicurean upon system, and through inclination, what is a crime ? when a throne is in view, what can restrain ambition ?

However, when she considered that frankness and generosity, so conspicuous in the character of the duke of Orleans, her fears were in some degree abated. If an ambition to reign stimulated him to the crime, the love of true glory restrained him from committing it. She persuaded herself, that he durst not have demanded that a life so precious as that of the young king, should have been confided to his care, if he had not resolved to be answerable for it to France ; that the obligation which honour laid him under to preserve the child, would be as powerful as the dictates of virtue ; that he would make a point of destroying the former suspicions that had been entertained of him ; and

that if he was capable of so black a crime, he would be restrained from perpetrating it by remorse, by fear, and by those reports which had been spread of guilt, which he had not incurred.

These hopes were combated by fears, too well grounded to leave her mind at rest. She had continually before her eyes, the dreadful prospect of those miseries which were preparing for a state, ruled by a man who knew how to fight, but who, among philosophers, artists, and prostitutes, had not learned how to govern.

However, the first days of the regency were distinguished by schemes for the relief of the people. The duke regulated his conduct by maxims which openly condemned the principles of the last reign. This declared contempt for the will of a prince, who had acquired more knowledge by experience, than all that the duke of Orleans's philosophy had been able to teach him, overwhelmed madame de Maintenon with grief. In vain she reproached herself, for taking so much interest in a world which she had renounced for ever: she could not, without indignation, know that the memory of her deceased king was treated with scorn, his virtues destroyed, his errors exaggerated, his

his enterprizes condemned, his statues covered with fatires, and the authors of those affronts unpunished, his obsequies interrupted by the insolent *Te Deum* of the populace, mixed with the *de profundis* of the priests.

The duke of Orleans, who esteemed her highly, thought he owed her a kind of account of his actions, and was willing to prepare her for the changes he was meditating. He paid her the same respect which he would have paid to a queen dowager: he was sensible that she had dissipated several storms which had been raised against him; and although he might probably not know of all the obligations he had to her, yet he knew enough to persuade him, that it was his duty to give her publick proofs of his acknowledgment.

He went to Saint-Cyr to visit her: the lady portress not admitting him immediately, the superior made him an apology for it. 'It is according to your rules,' said the prince to her, 'and I am not come hither to interrupt them.' He entered madame de Maintenon's apartment alone, and continued with her half an hour. Some thought that he came to load her with reproaches, others to forbid her to meddle for the future with affairs;

Sept. 6.

and many believed that the design of this visit, was to prevail upon her to reveal to him certain secrets of state: but all these conjectures were false. The prince, when he entered her chamber, thus addressed her:

‘ I am come, madam, to express to you the part I take in your grief, and to assure you of all the respect and consideration you can wish for.’ She was beginning to answer him, he interrupted her. ‘ I do my duty only, and you know what has been prescribed to me.’

‘ It is with pleasure,’ said madame de Maintenon, ‘ that I observe the respect you pay the memory of the late king, by favouring me with this visit.’ ‘ That respect,’ answered the prince, would not permit me to neglect making you this visit; but my esteem for you would still less permit it: and I am desirous of giving you greater proofs of it, than the measures I have taken to secure to you that little, which the king has bequeathed to you out of his privy purse.’

‘ I was informed of this yesterday,’ said madame de Maintenon. ‘ I return your royal highness a thousand thanks; but this
‘ sum,

‘ sum, in the present state of the finances, is too large, and I am not willing to accept so much.’ ‘ It is but a trifle,’ replied the prince, ‘ but it is true that the finances are in great disorder.’ ‘ What I receive from the king,’ resumed madame de Maintenon, ‘ will be wholly employed in relieving the necessities of some poor people, whom I am not willing to abandon, and in prayers to God that you may obtain the assistance you have need of.’

‘ I am already sensible,’ said the duke of Orleans, ‘ that the burden I bear is very heavy.’ ‘ My lord,’ resumed madame de Maintenon, ‘ you feel but part of it yet.’ ‘ I shall be at Vincennes,’ added he, ‘ as much as I can; but publick affairs will often call me to Paris. I am resolved to give my whole attention to them, and will use my utmost endeavours to re-establish them. I shall think myself happy, if, in the course of a few years, I may be enabled to render to the young king, France freed from its debts, tranquil, flourishing, and in a better condition than I found her; this is the utmost bounds of my ambition.’ ‘ This is a glorious design,’ said madame de Maintenon. ‘ No one,’ resumed the duke of Orleans, ‘ has a greater interest in the preservation of the young prince than I

N 6

have :

‘ have : it is I who am answerable for his
‘ person ; the whole authority is at present
‘ vested in me ; I shall not have those to
‘ contend with, who, by possessing his
‘ person, would have shared that authority
‘ with me ; and I shall be overjoyed to
‘ resign it into his hands, that I may
‘ peaceably enjoy the honour I shall have
‘ acquired.’

‘ These sentiments,’ said madame de
Maintenon, ‘ are worthy of your birth,
‘ and you yourself will feel how glorious
‘ they are, if it be true that you have not
‘ that insatiable desire of reigning with
‘ which you have always been charged.’
‘ Ah !’ answered the prince, ‘ if I should
‘ lose the young king, could I hope to
‘ reign in peace ? should we not be enga-
‘ ged in a war with the king of Spain, who
‘ has still many friends, although he is
‘ not by the testament appointed to suc-
‘ ceed.’

‘ No, my lord,’ replied madame de
Maintenon, ‘ I never can believe the in-
‘ jurious reports that have been propagated
‘ against your royal highness ; I know the
‘ malice of mankind ; you know it also ;
‘ and I intreat you therefore never to
‘ listen to what my enemies may impute
‘ to me, contrary to your interest. My in-
‘ fluence is over ; and all I have now to
‘ do

‘ do is to bury myself in my retreat, and
‘ forget the whole world. The state
‘ of things, my own inclinations, the
‘ respect I owe your person, and the little
‘ use I now can be of, all impose si-
‘ lence upon me; but the obligation you
‘ have laid me under, by the grant you
‘ now secure to me, is of itself sufficient
‘ to hinder me from entering into any ca-
‘ bals; and I engage my honour never to
‘ say or do any thing against your royal
‘ highness. Many imprudent expressions
‘ will be attributed to me, I shall be ac-
‘ cused of holding correspondence with the
‘ king of Spain, all this will be false, and
‘ I shall no longer give any attention to
‘ affairs of state, but to pray for the hap-
‘ piness of France.’

‘ And I, madam,’ returned the regent,
‘ protest to you, that in me you shall al-
‘ ways find a sincere friend, and Saint-Cyr
‘ a faithful protector. The place you for-
‘ merly held must have necessarily obliged
‘ you to many connections, and your re-
‘ tirement will not guard you from solli-
‘ citations. I shall be always ready to
‘ serve you; it is not fit that you should
‘ address yourself to any other than myself.’
‘ The greatest favour I shall ever ask,’ said
madame de Maintenon, ‘ is that the foun-
‘ dation of Saint-Cyr may be completed.’

After

After some compliments on one side, and acknowledgments on the other, the regent desiring to see the ladies of the community, said to them, ‘ Ladies, I have
‘ desired to see you, that I might assure
‘ you of that protection which is so justly
‘ due to you. I shall use no arguments
‘ to persuade you of this truth; you know
‘ what respect I owe to him who founded
‘ your community, and to her who governs
‘ it. I am well convinced of the merit
‘ of an establishment so useful to the kingdom, and in particular to the noble
‘ bleſſe; for whatever you may wiſh, ladies, for whatever madame de Maintenon may deſire, I ſhall be always ready
‘ to do you ſervice. I recommend myſelf to your prayers; the place I now
‘ fill renders them more neceſſary to me
‘ than ever.’

Nothing ſtruck the regent more than the ſmallneſs of madame de Maintenon’s apartment, and the extreme ſimplicity of its furniture. She told him ſhe had deſtin’d that which the late king had cauſed to be built for her, for an infirmary for the community. Some of the courtiers who attended the duke of Orleans in this viſit, being perſuaded that diſcontent and reſentment, rather than a love of ſolitude, had induced madame de Maintenon to retire

retire to Saint-Cyr, diverted themselves at her expence. 'What injury has she ever done you?' said the prince to them. 'She has served many persons, she never hurt one.' The conversation then turning upon the princess Des Ursins, 'As for her,' said the duke of Orleans, 'she is a busy enterprizing woman, and, with abilities for nothing, has intruded herself into every thing.'

His behaviour to these two ladies was conformable to these sentiments; he abandoned madame des Ursins to her destiny, and his friendly cares softened that of madame de Maintenon. He reduced all the pensions, but preserved entire the four thousand francks a month which was settled on madame de Maintenon, and paid out of the privy purse; *a pension which her disinterestedness has rendered necessary to her*, said the brevet, by the express order of the regent: an eulogium which began with her, and which probably will tempt no other favourite to an imitation of that virtue. But, if she had refused this pension, she might probably have merited a greater.

Her situation seemed to require that she should owe no obligations but to the king; did that delicate respect due to the memory

memory of Lewis the Fourteenth permit her to accept this benefit from the hands of him who publickly contemned his testament? Was it fit for the widow of a king to suffer her gratitude to be engaged to him who usurped an unlawful authority; whom as a subject she was bound to obey, but whose favours, as the wife of Lewis, she ought to have secretly shunned?

To have seen Frances d'Aubigné poor, after reigning thirty years, refusing to be enriched; faithful by this refusal to the manes of her husband, singly despising an usurped power, although exteriorly obedient to that power; forcing admiration from the prince whose resentment that refusal would have excited; and shewing the world that a king could be loved and revered after his death: this, to exalted minds, would have been a noble spectacle.

Thus would human wisdom have counselled her, but Christian piety reasons differently. Such a conduct would have gratified pride, and drawn the attention of the world; but madame de Maintenon conceived that she ought no otherwise to testify her affection for the king, than by her prayers, and her submission to the new regulations

regulations permitted by providence. It was not for her to brave the regent, nor to contest the right of giving with him who gave in the name of the king; probably also she was carried away by her ardent charity: to a benevolent mind, what are such lofty sentiments in comparison of good works? When the duke of Orleans left her, she said to mademoiselle d'Aumale, 'If among so many misfortunes, felt with such extreme sensibility, any thing could afford me consolation, it is in reflecting that I still have it in my power to relieve some unhappy persons. But for this consideration, what would this pension be to me?'

She was so well pleased with the behaviour of the duke of Orleans, that she instantly committed to paper the principal heads of her conversation with him. Mademoiselle d'Aumale having requested her to give her that paper, madame de Maintenon said, 'I will leave it to you.' Accordingly she joined it to her testament, perhaps as a modest proof of her marriage.

The regent's visit was followed by one Sept. 7. from the dutchess dowager of Orleans, his mother; she came in full dress, a respect paid to madame de Maintenon's
secret

secret elevation, as well as to her virtue. The dutchess told her, that the dutchess of Berry, and the dutchess of Orleans her daughter-in-law, were coming. Madame de Maintenon instantly dispatched a messenger, to intreat those princesses to leave her at liberty to pray and weep; she made the same request to all the royal family, and very freely excused herself from receiving those instances of officious respect, probably sincere, but after the regent's visit a little suspected, and better calculated to flatter pride, than to sooth affliction.

All the great lords presented themselves at her door, to make their compliments of condolance: none were admitted; she had given orders that the bishops only should be introduced to her. She afterwards repented of this exception; she had hoped they would talk to her of God, their discourse turned wholly upon the world.

Marshal Villars desired permission to come and mingle his tears with hers. She replied, that Saint-Cyr was as inaccessible to heroes as to princes. He declared he would then lay siege to it. She yielded. He remained faithful to the late king.

The

The queen of England could not be ^{Sept. 8.} excluded; she came in deep mourning, and with the same ceremonial as to a princess. When she saw madame de Maintenon, she embraced her tenderly. Tears flowed from the eyes of both. At every circumstance which madame de Maintenon related to her, of the christian death of the king, 'Mine,' she cried, 'could not have shewn more christian resignation. Just thus did my holy king die.'

The queen of Poland, who lived retired at Blois, made her a particular compliment. All those who regretted Lewis the Fourteenth, to her expressed their sorrow. The king of Spain, whose interest she had so ardently supported with his grandfather, was the only one who on this occasion shewed her no mark of respect or gratitude. 'I am surprised,' said mademoiselle d'Aumale to her, 'that the king of Spain has not wrote to you,' 'I should have been more surprised,' replied madame de Maintenon, 'if he had.'

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

*Madame de Maintenon's manner of life
at Saint-Cyr.*

MADAME de Maintenon's first care was to free herself from the incumbrance of her household, moderate as that was. She assembled her domesticks, thanked them for their faithful services, distributed some presents among them, and dismissed them. She kept only two women, and a valet de chambre, who was lodged without the walls. She sent her horses to be sold, saying, 'I cannot resolve to feed six horses, while there are so many men of birth dying of hunger.'

Her whole income was consecrated to the relief of some noble families; she scarce reserved any part of it for her own use, and often denied herself necessaries: generous to others, avaritious only to herself. By the letters patents Saint-Cyr was expressly enjoined to maintain her and her servants, but she paid the community a pension

pension of four thousand francks, and was still apprehensive of being burthensome to it. Her repasts, always frugal, were now more so than ever, and she reduced herself to a single dish: her supper used to be a dish of chocolate; after the first evening she denied herself that. ‘I will not by my example,’ said she, ‘make *pious gluttons* of my daughters.’ She no longer made use of pastes or perfumes: ‘He is gone,’ said she, ‘for whom I used these things.’ *

* She gives a lively representation of the state of her mind in the following letter to d’Aubigné, archbishop of Rouen:

‘My mind is nearly in the same state as when you left me. When I reflect on the wonderful mercies which God has shewn me, I dread lest pride should intrude itself upon my thoughts: I am apprehensive of being ungrateful, by not offering up sufficient thanks and praise to him who supports me with his almighty hand, and renders me almost insensible to my loss, and to my fall. Peace, confidence, joy, and love, rise in my soul when I contemplate the former, and I feel the most absolute indifference when I think of the latter. Be sure not to write to me without some words of exhortation. Our dear daughters use their utmost endeavours to make my retreat agreeable: they will not find it a difficult matter.’

She

She denied herself whatever she either thought convenient or agreeable to her, that she might no longer have any taste to gratify, and might have the more to give to the poor. Whenever she received her pension she divided it among those whose necessities were known to her. If she had been capable of forgetting the loss she had suffered, the retrenchment she was obliged to make in her alms would have recalled it to her remembrance. ‘ I do not weep for the king,’ said she sometimes, ‘ he is now happy ; but it is terrible to know that there are many persons in distress, and not to have the power of relieving them.’

‘ I have taken an account of her expences,’ said mademoiselle d’Aumale, ‘ during the years 1717 and 1718 ; in the former they amount to fifty seven thousand nine hundred and forty-two livres, and in the latter to sixty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-five livres ; from which there are only some scarfs and some robes de chambre for herself, the remainder was appropriated to pensions or to alms. I have known her give very considerable sums under borrowed names. She often said to me, *The pleasure of giving is the only one I now enjoy.*’

She

She soon entertained scruples that her grief was too intense ; and, while persons of the greatest piety admired her resignation to providence, she reproached herself with not having an entire submission to it. It is the property of Christian virtues to astonish those who are witnesses of them, and to create fears of unworthiness in those who exert them ; and nothing more speedily effaces the remembrance of the good we do, than the apprehension of not doing enough.

Disengaged at length from the world, in which the king only had retained her, she breathed in freedom ; she enjoyed the happiness of being escaped from the general wreck, and held so little correspondence with the world, that she knew not even by publick report the sad events of that stormy regency in which she lived : she resigned herself in her retreat to that inward recollection which she had always loved, and which the tumultuous hurry of a court had so often interrupted : she was at length sensible of what infinite importance it is to give one's self early to God, and free from the contagious vices of a place where she had so long lived, from a conscience examined with the utmost sincerity, she received consolation and hope, and, instead of having sins to expiate, found only virtues

tues to bring to perfection. This happiness was but of short duration, and but late enjoyed; but her advanced age promised her a near, and her lively faith an eternal happiness.

She was desirous by some little employments to banish langour and satiety from her solitude; sometimes she instructed the novices, sometimes she shared with the mistresses of the classes, the painful cares of education; she often sent for the young ladies to her chamber, and instructed them in the elements of religion, and taught them to read, to write, to work, with that gentleness and solicitude which accompany every thing we do through taste and inclination.

She assisted regularly at the recreations, and appeared as gay as if she could really find any amusement in them. She used to tell the ladies of Saint Lewis, that then was the time to acquire a thorough knowledge of their pupils, to discover the difference of characters, and to insil useful maxims into their tender minds, under the allurements of pleasure. She made one in all their diversions, she invented some herself; her presence gave no restraint; she inspired joy and freedom; she was respected, without being feared.

Madame

Madame de Vertrieux then governed Saint-Cyr. Madame de Maintenon submitted to her authority, either because she was weary of rule, or, to give an example of obedience; she acted with the same degree of dependance as if she had been only one of the ladies of Saint-Lewis: she never departed on any occasion from the rules of the community, without asking permission of the superior. Madame de Vertrieux died, and madame de Glapion succeeded her; she had madame de Maintenon's vote, and both deserved and possessed her tenderest friendship: the charms of her wit, the force of her understanding, had appeared even in her earliest youth; devotion, so often accused of suggesting narrow and confined notions, had enlarged her mind, and the name of madame de Glapion * will for a long time recal at Saint-Cyr an idea of perfection. Madame de Maintenon had educated this lady, and now obeyed her.

She submitted her exercises of devotion to the regulation of the mistress of the novices. One day in each month she consecrated to solitude; there, without any

* See her character in the letters to the ladies of Saint-Cyr.

interruption, without any wanderings or melancholy, she prepared herself for death, and anticipated that happy futurity which religion has promised to the faithful : one week in every year she passed in the same inward recollection ; doubtless this calm of mind was often troubled by reflections on the prodigies of her life, easily forgot in the tumult of Versailles, recalled with force in the silence of Saint-Cyr.

The infirmities of old age could not make her dispense with this pious practice. She desired madame de Perou, then mistress of the novices, to give her rules for her days of devotion. The next day she found the required plan in her oratory. She answered by this billet : ‘ Your compliance, my dear mother, will be perfect, if to-morrow I find a list of my faults, as I have found a list of my exercises.’

Madame de Perou, after having examined her with the most critical eye, pronounced that Saint-Cyr had an excellent foundress. However, one great fault tarnished in some degree the lustre of so many virtues : madame de Maintenon had neither weak credulity, suspicious avarice, troublesome melancholy, nor any of the faults of old age, but she carried to excess the

the fear of having these faults, and this fear seemed to give her them all. During her elevation she had always attributed to the place she filled, that homage which was sometimes paid to her person; she used often to desire madame de Caylus to excuse her to her best and most intimate friends when they came to visit her, saying, 'It is necessary by absence to make them amends for the tediousness of my conversation.'

This idea was strengthened by age; it owed its rise to a virtue, and produced a fault. Being now persuaded that the tenderness and affection expressed for her were mere sacrifices to decency, looking upon herself as one of those antiques which are more esteemed on account of their being scarce, than their intrinsic value, she concluded that friendship, the only happiness she was capable of enjoying, no longer existed for her. Mademoiselle d'Aumale, notwithstanding her faithful attachment, her tender solicitude, and constant attendance on her, was involved in this suspicion; madame de Glapion was not exempted from it: both with the kindest attention endeavoured to amuse her, and both were often discouraged in their attempts, not by any complaint, but by acknowledgments too apparent, and by a

O 2

thousand

thousand objections to whatever they proposed for that purpose.

These ladies, who loved her with the tenderest affection, felt the most sensible concern to find they were so little known. Madame de Maintenon durst not venture to send for them in her hours of leisure, for fear of being tiresome to them; and they durst not offer their company for fear their solicitude should be attributed to mere complaisance.

Madame de Maintenon having one day desired to see one of these ladies, who happened that moment to be employed in some other part of the house, she went instantly to the church, and at the foot of the altar sought for that consolation which she reproached herself with having sought from those she loved: she fancied she was only an object of compassion to those who, being witnesses of her virtues, were ready to invoke her as a saint, if the living could be invoked. They questioned themselves concerning the cause of her coldness and reserve, and trembled while they expressed their uneasiness for fear she should think it exaggerated, or be offended that they had discovered the motions of her unquiet mind. This extreme caution in an old person, who was only respectable, might have been meritorious; in a woman who was adored at Saint-Cyr, it was a weakness.

The

The ingratitude of the courtiers, although long foreseen, yet threw her into reflections unfavourable to the human heart. Interest or pleasure, were in her opinion, the sole principles of affection; she believed herself useless and troublesome, although Saint-Cyr, guarded by her care against all the vices of the world, ought not to have reminded her of the resemblance between a convent and a court. One of her friends exhorting her to preserve herself, because she was so necessary, she replied, 'Yes, if I am really so; if not, I cannot die too soon.'

Jealousy now joined its efforts to torment a mind made miserable by its exquisite sensibility; she loved madame de Glapion with excessive fondness, and was apprehensive that she was not sufficiently beloved by her; she suspected that this lady gave the preference in her heart to mademoiselle d'Aumale. This predilection she acknowledged to herself was very natural, yet was she no less afflicted at it. Hence that dryness, that reserve, those inequalities in her temper, the inquietude of a person who was desirous of inspiring the same degree of friendship as she was capable of feeling, and who severely questioned herself by what right she claimed it. I know not if it be a weakness to have a heart so

tender, but certainly it is a great misfortune.

These faults of temper madame de Maintenon had brought with her from the world into solitude: in every place, in every circumstance, we are still ourselves. In the world a variety of objects, a continual succession of pleasures or occupations, concealed them; at Saint-Cyr they incessantly escaped her watchful vigilance over herself. In her youth they had deprived her of the pleasures of society; in an age more advanced they had rendered her insensible to the honours of a court, in her old age they disturbed the repose of her solitude. A celebrated author * is for having the histories of the fortunate persons of his age all written. If that were done, what is called good fortune would never be solicited.

It was only the most intimate confidants of madame de Maintenon who discovered these inequalities of temper, always severely repressed; the habit of subduing them concealed them in part from observation. God and herself only knew those pains of which she never complained. Languishing in fevers, or tormented with headaches, she

* *Essais de Morale, & de Litterature, tom. 3.*

never

never had recourse to any relief, unless the violence of her pain betrayed her fortitude into complaints : a foe to all indulgence, she considered labour, fatigues, the inclemencies of the weather, as trifles. Complaints are the soothing of sufferings ; she interdicted them herself, not because they betray a weakness of mind, but because she thought them rebellions against that power who distributes those sufferings, and rewards them. She kept even till her death a woman attendant, by whom she was extremely ill served. When she was pressed to dismiss her, ‘ No,’ she replied, ‘ I am resolved to keep her ; no one could have been more useful to me, since, during five-and-twenty years she has given constant exercise to my patience.’

Among her perfections, those which not being born with her were virtues, became by constant practice the natural qualities of her mind, the great end of morality ; philosophy aspires to it, but christianity attains it.

If any thing could have lessened the fervour of her piety, her distrust of the directors of her conscience would have done it ; she had long discovered that the counsels they gave her were almost all interested, therefore, after the death of the bishop of

Chartres, she had no particular director, and she contented herself with declaring her sins to the abbé Briderey her confessor, without asking advice of any person whatever; but was always guided by the maxims of monsieur des Marais, whose writings by frequent perusal made him seem present to her imagination: this only consolation she still possessed.

She discovered that the abbé Briderey was a Jansenist: her aversion to every kind of heresy would not permit her to confide in a secret enemy of the church; the natural sweetness of her temper made it extremely difficult for her to part with a confessor she had had seventeen years. She was sure only of his inclinations towards Jansenism; but she was apprehensive, that by changing her confessor, he would be accused of something worse. She durst not examine too nearly into the foundation of her suspicions, lest those suspicions should be turned to a certainty. She durst not reject them entirely, lest she should deceive herself.

To speak plainly to the abbé Briderey upon this subject, was to expose him to the guilt of falsehood; for what Jansenist is there who will not deny that he is one? To conceal from him the inquietudes she suffered

suffered on his account, was to remain voluntarily in a doubt, which it highly concerned her to remove; by dismissing him, she would do a prejudice to the whole order to which he belonged: by keeping him she drew upon Saint-Cyr the prayers of the Jansenists, which were still worse than their curses, and upon herself the reproach of favouring a party which triumphed in the regent's support.

It is easy to conceive what agitations these thoughts must raise in a mind so truly catholick: however, she resolved to be silent, to receive the communion oftener, that she might go less to confession, and to comfort herself with contemplating in God.

Those hours which she appropriated to prayer, ran with the greatest rapidity. 'Would you shorten time,' she used to say, 'spend it with God;' and sometimes, 'Oh, how insensibly glide on those days,' she cried, 'that we devote to God.' Every thing rendered her Maker present to her soul; he possessed and filled it entirely. 'I sung to her,' says mademoiselle d'Aumale, 'a sacred ode of Racine's; when I came to these verses:

O Sagasse! ta parole

Fit éclore l'univers,

O 5

Oh

Oh wisdom ! thy word
 Called forth the universe,
 she seemed, in a transport of admiration,
 to shed some tears, and desired me to
 repeat them. Whenever she heard the
 story of Esther,

Ah ! qui peut avec Dieu partager notre amour ?

Ah ! who with God can share our love ?

she appeared in an holy extacy. We
 lovers of the world are not able to con-
 ceive the necessity or the pleasure of this
 continual presence of God. When our
 passions are silent, we represent him to
 ourselves under the idea of an offended
 judge : true christians behold him under
 that of a father satisfied with their love.
 ‘I do not,’ said madame de Maintenon,
 ‘approve of these words, *It is terrible to*
 ‘*fall into the hands of the living God* : in my
 ‘opinion, nothing can be more delightful.’

Full of impatient desire, to behold at length
 that being whom she loved with such ardor,
 she languished for death, not as the period
 to her cares, but as the beginning of her
 happiness. Mademoiselle d’Aumale, hap-
 pening once to say to her, that she was
 afraid she should go to hell, ‘Ah ! my
 ‘God !’ cried madame de Maintenon,
 ‘how

‘ how is it possible to have such a thought !
‘ I assure you, this fear never entered into
‘ my mind : no, it is not possible for me
‘ to think that I shall be damned.’ Will
the most rigid protestants, when they see
such piety proceeding from the bosom of
error, maintain that God will condemn us
for opinions ?

It was but by degrees, that she acquired
that ardent fondness for prayer. At first
she found the exercises very tedious, and
performed them with lassitude. ‘ My
‘ want of application,’ said she to the
ladies of Saint-Lewis, was the cause that
‘ I was formerly disgusted with prayer :
‘ besides, I thought it was a higher merit
‘ in the sight of God, to comfort the
‘ afflicted, to visit the sick, than to throw
‘ myself before his altar with my head full
‘ of business, languid in my devotion, and
‘ often my attention engaged by the levity
‘ of my own thoughts. I said to myself, a
‘ christian ought to live an active life, I
‘ remain here meditating upon the per-
‘ fections of God, while my anti-chamber
‘ is crouded with people, whose requests
‘ I ought to hear, and whose necessities I
‘ may relieve. But, after long experience,
‘ I am become sensible, that these wan-
‘ derings of the mind may be prevented,
‘ by reflecting that we are conversing with

' the most respectable of all beings, and
 ' that prayer is the true food of a christian :
 ' without prayer we depend upon our own
 ' prudence, and God blesses not our
 ' designs : we grow languid in the per-
 ' formance of our duties, the mind is
 ' contracted, in whatever we do our own
 ' interest is the end. We flatter ourselves
 ' that we are charitable, we are surpris'd
 ' to find that we are only profuse : we
 ' give alms, but we make not to God
 ' that offer of them, by which alone they are
 ' meritorious. Taste, humour, pleasure,
 ' have been the principles of our charity ;
 ' and the gratifications of these are the
 ' barren recompence of it : in a word, I
 ' date the inward peace I enjoy, from that
 ' moment, when obedient to the advices
 ' of my directors, I destined a certain por-
 ' tion of my time to prayer.'

Thus did she endeavour to persuade her
 daughters of Saint-Cyr, to keep up that
 holy commerce with God, so little known
 in convents, though they are the retreats of
 piety. In her conversations with madame
 de Glapion, mademoiselle d'Aumale, and
 madame de Perou, she expatiated both
 upon her good qualities and her faults,
 with the same frankness as she would have
 done on those of any other person : she
 was dead to every sentiment of pride ;
 what-

whatever could be useful to her daughters of Saint-Cyr, she made theirs, equally free from ostentation, as from affected humility.

After the recreation, at which she regularly assisted, even when she was indisposed, she instructed the novices, whom she formed by her discourse and by her example. When she expatiated upon the duties of a cloistral life, one would have thought she had fulfilled them all : when she talked to them of God, she seemed enflamed with the sacred fire of pure love. The ladies of Saint-Lewis wished that God would bestow on them a portion of that spirit with which she was animated, as he had infused into the sixty-two elders, that of Moses their head. ‘ Ah !’ cried she, ‘ what a head ! and this it is ‘ which makes me pity the members : but ‘ are not all instruments equal in the hands ‘ of God ? When I reflect,’ added she, ‘ that every one of the religious orders, ‘ although instituted by saints, has had ‘ occasion to be reformed, I sighing ask ‘ myself what will become of Saint-Cyr, ‘ whose beginning was not so favourable.’

However, she left writings to that community, which will prevent any relaxation of piety and regularity, as long as a taste
for

for the simple, the pure, and useful, shall prevail among them. Such is that piece called *the Spirit of the institution*, which is entirely of her own composing; but that it might never bear her name, she prevailed upon the bishop of Chartres to correct it, and upon the king to sign it.

The ladies of Saint-Lewis pressed her to sign it also. She replied, 'It is fit that those who come after you, should believe this is the work of a bishop, and not of a woman. Your friendship for me, makes you fond of every thing that comes from me; I shall be very indifferent to the future ladies of Saint-Lewis.' In the deliberations of the council, she gave her opinion with a humility, which left to the suffrages the most entire freedom, but with a prudence and forethought, that rendered that freedom useless. It was necessary that the bishop of Chartres should interpose his authority over her, to preserve a great number of papers from the fire, which are now very precious to Saint-Cyr. They contained instructions taken down in writing from her mouth, by those who heard them. Madame de Maintenon revised them, and erased every thing, which upon deeper reflection, she did not approve. The style was that of Tobit, or of Jesus the son of Sirach;

rich ; it breathed those virtues with which her heart was filled,

When she read the collection made by madame de Bouju, she every moment cried out, *This is what I never said or thought.* The piety of madame de Bouju was harsh and severe ; and all the gentle reasonings of madame de Maintenon were embittered by passing through her pen.

Upon reviewing all the regulations of Saint-Cyr, she perceived some errors in them, and her first thought was to amend them ; but in prudence she forebore to take this step. ‘ We will make no alterations,’ said she to mademoiselle d’Aumale, ‘ the example will be dangerous, and at length they will be altering every day.’ She instilled into her pupils a great veneration for the professed nuns of the community : at the holy table she followed the ladies of Saint-Lewis, and preceded the young ladies. She was earnestly intreated to go first : ‘ Am I not too highly honoured,’ replied she, ‘ by walking immediately after the clergy, and at the head of the noblesse ?’

She was shocked at that pride, which the great cannot divest themselves of, even
in

in their acts of devotion. ‘At church,’ said she, ‘the difference of conditions disappear, and I am overjoyed to observe it. *Leger* my woman receives the communion by my side, and often receives it with more fervour than myself.’ It was not the servant who was emulous of her mistress’s piety; it was the mistress who aspired to be equal to the servant. The wise declare that mankind are all equal, and the truly devout believe it.

Her infirmities did not lessen her attention to the education of the young ladies of Saint-Lewis: not being able to go up to the classes, she desired to have a certain number of these children in her own apartment. The mistresses made it the reward of merit; mademoiselle de Mornai, and mademoiselle de Montchevreuil, were preferred to many others, on account of their talents and their names, which were always dear to madame de Maintenon, and will long be so to Saint-Cyr. The gentleness with which she instructed them, her extreme application and patience, astonished the ladies of Saint-Lewis. ‘Nothing is less reasonable,’ said she, ‘than to expect that children should be reasonable.’ She accommodated her instructions to their capacity: she watched the progress of their ripening understanding; and aided

aided the efforts of nature, with all her own accumulated wisdom.

Mademoiselle de la Tour was brought up by her. This young girl was the daughter of a gentleman of Auvergne, whose family, composed of twenty children all born of the same mother, lived in decent poverty. Madame de Maintenon conceived an affection for her from the first moment she saw her; her beauty, her engaging simplicity, the sweetness of her temper, but particularly the extreme delicacy of her constitution, induced madame de Maintenon to take her entirely under her own care. The child repaid this tenderness with the fondest affection. Madame de Maintenon found herself so strongly attached to her, that it became necessary, for the peace of her conscience, to be re-assured concerning the force of this inclination; for she was not willing to form any ties which might engage her to the world. 'At every age,' said she, 'we have need of a doll.'

However, in this amusement she found exercise for her charity, and for those talents for which she was so eminently distinguished. Mademoiselle de la Tour acquired in her childhood all the qualities of an excellent nun. Madame de Maintenon

non recommended her in her last will to the ladies of Saint-Lewis, who could not settle her more advantageously, than by taking her into their number. The favour the child enjoyed, made the good fortune of the whole family; her brothers got places, her sisters were 'portioned.

Madame de Maintenon was stealing from the world; and every three months her benevolence informed her pensioners that she was still in it. She paid her alms with as much punctuality as if they had been debts; no necessitous person was denied relief by her. She sometimes would talk to the young ladies of Saint-Lewis of their relations and friends; and when with the simplicity of their age, they gave her an account of any evident distress, she sent into the most distant part of a province, a secret and unexpected relief. She confined herself generally to bare necessities, that she might have it in her power to multiply her benefactions. She never supplied the cravings of vanity; such gifts she considered as robbing her poor: she was accused of not being liberal, but she was more, she was charitable.

However, her natural generosity made her often exceed the bounds she had prescribed to herself; and with humbled pride,

pride, she did not calculate very rigorously; her presents carried abundance into families, which had been accustomed to it. She supported in a genteel manner several women of quality, whose names I shall not mention, because certain expressions which have fallen from their children, have taught me that in such families they are more ashamed of poverty than ingratitude. A large volume might be filled with the account of her known charities, but doubtless a much larger would scarce contain the list of those of which it might be said, her left hand was ignorant of what her right bestowed.

In the solitude to which she had condemned herself, she had some gloomy days: so it was supposed at Paris, but at Saint-Cyr it was not perceived. Several persons affirmed, that she frequently went out of the convent to make visits, but these visits were only to the poor of the village; accustomed to company, to publick affairs, to a kind of life the most varied imaginable, she could not avoid being melancholy in a house where she saw continually the same persons, from whence she had banished news and visits, and where each day was the perfect copy of the former; the remembrance of the past, rendered the present disagreeable: but, habituated

habituated long to conquer herself, she never suffered this uneasiness to appear; nor till after her death was it ever known that she had any to conceal. Her confessor owned that she had some conflicts to sustain: but these were but transient storms; grace in that faithful heart, soon repaired the ravages of nature.

She might easily have mixed again in those agreeable societies she had quitted. The ladies de Dangeau, de Caylus, de Lévy, endeavoured to bring her back to them; but either because she feared to indulge her own inclinations, or that all which had formerly delighted her, was now become wholly indifferent or tasteless, she very seldom saw any of her old friends. How few favourites fallen from power can boast of friends! madame de Maintenon preserved all hers: Villars, d'Harcourt, Villeroy, Uxelles, Rohan, Ventadour, the most distinguished names in the court of the regent, honoured her as if she had been upon a throne.

Her conversation had lost none of its charms; her body was infirm, old age had respected only her hearing and her eyes, but her mind was still firm, and her wit unimpaired. She wrote, she talked, she thought, with all the vigour, with all the justness

justness of her earlier years. One day, when she gave a general reprimand to the young ladies of Saint-Lewis, a new servant who heard her, interrupted her with this exclamation, *I protest this is still a notable woman*. When she was in the court, the centre of wit, she had despised and banished it from Saint-Cyr. In the solitude of a convent, she became sensible what need the indolence of a courtier has of such a resource, and how greatly the productions of wit contribute to the tranquillity of the mind. Affecting scenes of tragedies, animating musick, agreeable tales, little representations, humourous scenes, interesting books, innocent trifles, in a word, all that she had prohibited were recalled.

The ladies read to her the memoirs of cardinal de Retz, in which the characters of many persons, with whom she was intimately acquainted, are so well drawn; Vassor's history, where she is obliquely attacked; father Daniel, who always mentions her grandfather with honour. Mademoiselle d'Aumale does not tell us in her manuscript, what was madame de Maintenon's opinion of these books. When mademoiselle d'Aumale, in a pamphlet wrote by Villefor, a Jansenist, read to her this character of herself. *Madame de Main-*
tenon

tenon had always good intentions, but she was extremely timid; she was candid and sincere, but a little elevated, and always determined by the king's personal interest; she smiled, doubtless convinced that if this was her true character, she was all that a wife ought to be; and that conjugal love, comprehending all her duties, justified all her faults.

The part she had had in affairs of state, her zeal for the church, her love for her country, would not permit her to be indifferent to the events of the regency. She wished to be ignorant of every thing, yet desired to be told all; *curiosity*, said she, *is the last passion which dies in us; I have seen things rather too near.* Let us now take a slight view of those affairs which were likely to interest her; her character is known, a bare recital of facts will explain her sentiments.

CHAPTER V.

Publick affairs.

THE regent's first care was to gain the Jansenists : he was sure of the Jesuits concurrence in all his schemes, whenever he pleased to make use of them ; his second was to prosecute the farmers of the revenue. A court of commission was erected to try them, which might have been useful, if afterwards one had been erected to try the commissioners. The mistresses and favourites of the regent sold their protection to the accused, the judges sold their sentences to the guilty.

Monseigneur Fourquieux, the president of this tribunal, was surnamed the keeper of the seals, because when the spoils of Bourvalais were divided among the friends of the prince, Fourquieux had his silver seals for his share : such as had acquired most wealth, were judged with the least severity. The people exclaimed against the iniquitous proceedings of this court of justice, apparently the last that would be erected.

What

What imports it whether France is to be plundered by the courtier or the financier, when it is her destiny to be abandoned to pillage? The Jesuits and the farmers of the revenue mutually comforted each other, for they hated none but honest men.

The regent had promised the duke of Bourbon, before the king's death, that when the power was in his hands, he would deprive the legitimated princes of that rank, and those prerogatives, which Lewis the Fourteenth had ventured to give them: but although the elevation of those princes had irritated him while he was no more than a subject, he despised it when the sovereign authority was in his hands. The duke of Bourbon reminded him of his promises, the duke of Orleans put off the execution of them to another time, and made contrary promises to the duke du Maine. The princes of the blood, apprehensive that the regent would sport with them, as he did with his word, demanded in a petition, that the king should hold a bed of justice; and the legitimated princes presented a petition, in which they requested, that their rights might be determined by a majority of votes.

The

The regent approved of this expedient ; he was sensible, that a guardian has a right to make regulations, but not to cancel laws : however, he was told, that the demand made by the duke du Maine and the count de Toulouse attacked his authority, which was not the less absolute, because it was limited to a certain time. It is no difficult matter to persuade power to whatever may augment it. The duke of Orleans thought it highly imported his own honour to judge this process ; the royal authority said he, is never in a state of minority ; but ought not the exercise of it to be entrusted in the hands of the regent only, especially in a monarchy where it is evident no body of the people is the depository of the prince's rights, or the protector of those of the nation ?

Having thus cleared up his doubts he appointed commissioners, and the king's children were degraded, as they had been elevated, contrary to the laws. All their memorials were refuted. They appealed to the general states of the kingdom : the parliament made no decree in consequence of their protestation, and the regent sent several gentlemen to the bastille who had engaged thirty-nine others to make the same appeal.

July 2, 1717. In other respects the edict by which the legitimated princes were degraded, was not marked by that strain of violence and partiality which was expected from the regent's council. The monarch is there made to acknowledge that he cannot dispose of the crown, and that when the Bourbon line should be extinct, it belonged to the nation to chuse itself a master ; but it left the duke du Maine and the count de Toulouse in possession of the precedence derived from their dutchy.

The late king's edict in favour of the legitimated princes was certainly a great injustice to the nation, yet is it astonishing that this injustice subsisted no longer : the princes of the blood by marrying his natural daughters seemed engaged in honour to support it; and their brothers-in-law, by being associated in their rank, effaced in some degree the stain of such an alliance. The edict of July, 1714, still left a sufficient distance between the princes of the blood and the legitimated princes. Our laws establish an infinite one, and our manners would have preserved it.

These reflections occurred to the duke of Orleans, and he restrained the impetuosity of the duke of Bourbon, who having himself

self conceived a personal enmity to the duke du Maine, although that prince had supported his interests with his father, was resolved, if possible, to have him declared the son of the marquis de Montefpan, by a decree of the parliament. This attempt was the best sermon that could be preached against despotism and adultery.

The regent being apprehensive of the king's death, resolved to secure the crown to himself, by excluding the branch of Anjou from the succession. The abbé Dubois signed at London and the Hague the treaty of the quadruple alliance, the purport of which was, to maintain George upon the throne of England, and to place Philip, duke of Orleans, upon that of France. The pretender was sacrificed to this scheme, and two Englishmen who were suspected of having assassinated Evreux, were discovered, seized, convicted, and set at liberty.

Desmarets was dismissed from his employment of comptroller of the finances, after having presented to the council, by way of apology, a memorial, which demonstrated, that he only was capable of discharging it well. The duke de Noailles was president of the council of finances,

and the *Visa* * freed France in one day from a debt of three hundred and thirty three millions, punishing the subjects by methodical and almost equitable reductions of money bills, for the misfortune of having had a warlike prince.

The preamble to the edict was very gentle, the purpose of it was cruel; the people were plundered with all possible kindness; the necessities of the state justified every thing.

The regent would see all with his own eyes; he sowed divisions among his ministers, that he might not be deceived; and finding he was, he changed them as he did his mistresses. The interest of the state were sounding words, and always in his mouth, but his thoughts were wholly employed on his own particular interest. He was not capable of much application, but he was active; he loved every thing, but loved nothing with ardour; he suffered his favourites to abuse his kindness, and his penetration he himself abused: he now protected, now oppressed religion, doubted whether he had one, and did not care to

* This was an operation of the finances, by which the purchasers of stocks were only to receive the price, or very near it, that they had paid for them.

have

have his doubts removed: he appropriated the whole day to business, and part of the night to pleasures, in which his mind seemed to acquire new vigour for the labours of the ensuing day.

Monseigneur Voisin died suddenly; the duke de Noailles solicited his employment at Saint-Cyr for himself, and that of chancellor, for his friend Daguesseau, and obtained both these requests. The duke of Orleans being in danger of losing his sight, it was reported that the new chancellor, the duke de Noailles, and the cardinal his uncle, had deliberated whether it would not be proper to deprive him of the regency. This story is not probable, and it is still less so that the prince should have been able to discover the designs of men so prudent and so secret. However that may be, the chancellor, the idol of the Jansenist party, was banished to Frêne, and the duke de Noailles retired from court.

The seals, and the administration of the finances were given to monsieur d'Argenson, who was himself certainly worth two men, but not worth those two; descended from illustrious ancestors, and through indigence reduced to accept the post of lieutenant-general of the presidial court of

Angoulême, he was raised to that of lieutenant of the police by the interest of monsieur Pelletier, who alone was acquainted with his merit; under this title he became the minister of Paris, was hated by the populace on account of his severity, esteemed by the citizens on account of his vigilance; fitted for any employment, but never honoured by Lewis the Fourteenth with the highest, because he excelled in that he possessed; poor, disinterested, yet suspected of embezzling the publick money; cleared from a prosecution by the force of truth, and by the lustre of his name; proposed as a reformer of manners, and accused of corrupting them; feared by the jesuits, although devoted in appearance to their interests; ever declaring that the honours bestowed by a regency are but *ambulatory honours*, and owing his death to the loss of those honours he so greatly despised; the only man who was capable of humbling the parliament, while he saved the nation*.

Aug. 26 Law shared with the keeper of the seals
1718. the confidence of the regent: the parliament issued a summons for his personal appearance before them. The king went

* By proposing that edict, by which the coin was restored to its former value.

thither

thither to hold a bed of justice, where monsieur d'Argenson was invested with the prerogatives of chancellor, and all which had been enacted by that body with relation to the specie was annulled; the dukes and peers restored to the right of preceding the presidents of sovereign courts; the education of the minor entrusted to the duke of Bourbon, who was so lately a minor himself. The duke du Maine, obnoxious to the regent for his opposition to the quadruple alliance, was reduced to the rank only of a peer, the count de Toulouse without reason maintained in the possession of honours which his brother had without reason been deprived of, the parliament constrained to register these unjustifiable innovations, and consequently the state upon the brink of ruin.

The favourable hopes that had been conceived of the regency were all destroyed; Lewis the Fourteenth was now sincerely regretted. It was acknowledged, that the council settled by the testament would in all respects have been more useful to the state than those numerous committees, where they were always deliberating, without resolving upon any thing. The neglect of his last will was deeply lamented, which, by the wise regulations it contained, seemed an abridgment of all

that policy that by long experience he had acquired. The two parties which had so long divided the church, now agreed in declaiming against the new government; the duke of Orleans had almost as many enemies as there were Frenchmen; Brittany, Poitou, Normandy, were in commotion, and his court was filled with his enemies.

Now it was that the former calumnies which had been propagated against him were revived, and many new ones added to them; the life of the young king, early stiled our well-beloved, was apprehended to be in danger; poisoned biscuits were said to be found in his pockets; marshal Villeroi had hindered him from taking some snuff, which would have killed him; Madame de Ventadour had prevented him from eating of a dangerous collation that had been served up to him; and a thousand other frantick reports were circulated, which proved, and augmented the publick hatred against the duke of Orleans.

The regent however had been heard to say, ' There are two things, which, rather than suffer, I will be burned alive; one is, that any attempt should be made upon the life of this child; the other, that the Spaniard should reign in France.'

Those

Those who knew him intimately did not doubt of his sincerity in this declaration; but the people saw only his libertinism, and in that, the will to dare every crime. Fontenelle, who was often a witness of the publick indignation against him, once said to him, 'Ah! my lord, how will you be able to extricate yourself out of these difficulties?' 'Very well,' replied the prince, with great composure.

Then appeared those celebrated *Philippicks*, verses without poetry, odes without enthusiasm, more deserving of contempt than punishment. The regent pardoned the insults of satyrists, but his ministers revenged him; while the prince answered an epigram only with a better, they threw into prison, and suffered to languish there forgotten, all the wits who had satirized or had been accused of satirizing him. A young poet who had wrote against him, and who has since wrote against all the world, complained to him at Pont de Séve, that he had been brutally chastised. 'What do you demand?' said the regent to him. 'Justice,' replied the young man. 'Well, you have had justice,' said the prince.

He never suffered himself to be governed by his mistresses, however violent his passion for them might be: the countess de

P who was entirely in the interest of his enemies, supposing she had chose a avourable opportunity, ventured to sound him on an affair of great importance. The lover threw himself out of bed, and, taking the lady's hand, led her to a looking-glass; ' Do you see that beauteous head?' said he to her; ' It is made for ' the caresses of love, not for secrets of ' state.'

Notwithstanding he always sported with religion, yet at length he began to comprehend that it was the strongest support of government, and that the corruption, or reformation of manners, depended upon the choice of ecclesiasticks for the dignities of the church. An abbé of great quality once said to him, ' I shall be dishonoured if you do not make me a bishop.' ' I had rather,' said the prince, ' that you should be dishonoured than I.'

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

The secret marriage of the dutchess of Berry.

Libertinism still reigned in the court; however, the excess of it began to abate. Mademoiselle de Chartres, in the bloom of youth, in the possession of the greatest beauty, and most tender affection of her father, touched by the powerful hand of grace, had taken at Chelles the habit of a Benedictine.

The dutchess of Berry retired frequently to the convent of the Carmelites, to devote herself to exercises of piety; however, the household of that princess was maintained with great magnificence; the palace of Luxembourg had been given her, Meute served for her country retreat, and Meudon was lent to her to vary the scene of her pleasures.

At fifteen years of age the dutchess of Berry was a perfect beauty; but, notwithstanding her immoderate use of strong

liquors, she grew excessively fat, her complexion and features were altered, and of all her charms there now only remained the finest hands in the world, of which inhuman calumny reported, her father himself was an idolator.

The count de Riom had long possessed the affection of this princess; to free herself from that remorse of conscience which tormented her, she married him privately. The following anecdotes madame de Mouchi, her lady of honour, related to one of her friends :

The dutchess of Berry, sated with pleasures, caused a cell to be fitted up for her in the monastery of the Carmelite nuns, to which the austerities they practised tempted her to repair, whenever she was weary of sin. After a long retreat she received the communion with great fervour, and immediately afterwards gave madame de Mouchi a letter for her lover. The lady of honour started back with horror and surprize at this sacrilege: the princess observed her emotion, called her again, and with tears and groans acknowledged to her, that this lover was her husband.

Madame de Mouchi was so firmly persuaded that the count was married to the dutchess

dutchess of Berry, that when he was appointed governor of Meudon, she solicited for her husband the post of great master of the wardrobe to the count de Riom, with a salary of four thousand livres.

The dutchess of Berry did not ruin herself for her husband. The duke de Lauzun, a kinsman of the count's, seeing him departing for the army, with housings very sparingly embroidered with gold, said to him, 'When I lay at the palace of Luxembourg, cousin, my housings were embroidered on both sides.'

The dutchess had a daughter by the count de Riom, who was committed to the care of madame de Mouchi, who guessed to whom it belonged; scarce was she weaned, when some persons, wholly unknown to her, came and demanded the child. Madame de Mouchi refused to deliver her to them; but they insisting upon her compliance, she went immediately to the princess, who was at play, and, being a little discomposed, made no answer to what she said; but, being importuned by madame de Mouchi, she at last said twice, *Let them have her*, but would not give an order under her hand.

Some

Some time afterwards the dutchess of Berry was attacked with an apoplectick fit. After she had received extreme unction the duke of Orleans was sent for; madame de Mouchi offered to leave the room; the prince desired her only to retire to a greater distance; the dutchess of Berry then talked to her father during some minutes, but in so low a voice that madame de Mouchi could not hear what she said: but when the dutchess had ceased speaking, she distinctly heard the duke of Orleans say, ‘What do you tell me, daughter?’ He appeared to be in great emotion, and walked backwards and forwards in the room with a silence and precipitation that shewed his astonishment and inquietude.

After the dutchess was dead, he demanded her casket from madame de Mouchi, who delivered it to him; a minute afterwards he demanded the child that had been secretly confided to her care: madame de Mouchi told him that she had, by the princess’s orders, delivered the child to some persons unknown to her, who came to demand it. The regent threatened to punish her severely if she did not produce the child; the abbé de Champigny was sent to her, who told her that her head should answer for the child. She gave him

him the same answer which she had given the regent before; monsieur de la Vrilliere came to interrogate her, and threatened her with the Bastile; she persisted in answering, that the most cruel punishments could not force her to declare what she did not know.

At the very moment when the minister went out of the palace of Luxembourg mademoiselle de Beauveau, a famous devotee, came to ask madame de Mouchi who was for the future to pay the pension of a young girl that by order of the dutchess of Berry had been placed in a convent in Paris. Madame de Mouchi instantly informed the regent in a letter, of what she had just learned: the regent banished her and her husband, took the young girl from the convent, and sent her to Amiens, where she was brought up in the house of the ladies of Maumont of the order of Fontevrault with the countess de from whom I had these anecdotes. The young lady was treated with great respect, served and attended as a princess, yet passed only for the daughter of a country gentleman: she was called mademoiselle Benoit. From thence she was sent under the same name a pensioner to Valenciennes, where she took the veil. This lady is still alive: she exactly resembles her mother,

ther, the same large lovely eyes, vermillion lips, and snowy complexion.

This lady recalls to my remembrance the nun at Moret, whom Voltaire and the people believe to be the daughter of Lewis the Fourteenth*. That nun was the daughter of one of the king's coachmen. Madame de Maintenon had often said so to two ladies, from whom I heard it. 'The king,' says the historian, 'gave twenty thousand crowns with her to the convent.' It was madame de Maintenon who, to the sum collected from the charitable assembly for that purpose, added a present from herself, to place her in that convent. He adds, that madame de Maintenon went expressly to Moret to persuade this haughty girl that she was deceived in her notions of her birth. Madame de Maintenon constantly visited that convent three or four times a year, supported it by her liberality, and guided it by her councils. He assures us, that at Moret they still remember the answer made by this girl to madame de Mainte-

* See *The Age of Lewis the Fourteenth*, vol. ii. part 3. The author gives Lewis the Fourteenth another daughter by a young woman who attended madame de Montespan, and says, she was married to a gentleman at Versailles named la Queue.

non. ' The trouble, madam, which a
' lady of your high rank has given your-
' self in coming hither to tell me that I
' am not the king's daughter, is a sufficient
' proof to me that I am,' &c. A supple-
ment to his pamphlet upon *Printed Lies*.

CHAPTER VII.

A conspiracy formed against the regent.

CARDINAL Alberoni, whom nature had made a great man, and whom fortune had raised to a rank in which his talents shined out with all their lustre, determined to take revenge on the regent, for the order he had given Spain to disarm: the dutchess du Maine, enraged at the degradation of her family, formed designs to raise it again, by entering into the interest of the king of Spain. Father de Tournemine recommended to her the baron de Vales for her agent to the court of Spain; and the princess commissioned him to treat with Alberoni.

The discontent of several of the great lords, animated the dutchess du Maine to prosecute her designs, by flattering her
with

with hopes of success. The count de Laval, the marquis de Pompadour, cardinal Polignac, offered her their services, and those of their friends. Polignac, who was better fitted for intrigues of state, than for the bold enterprizes of a conspirator, proposed to enter into a negotiation with the prince de Cellemare the Spanish ambassador. The dutchess du Maine had several conferences with this minister, which they both imagined were absolutely secret, but which were known to the duke of Orleans. Their plan was to prevent the treaty of the quadruple alliance from being concluded; to put the king once more under the guardianship of the duke du Maine; to demand a convocation of the general states of the kingdom; to possess themselves in the night of the Tuileries; to surprise the regent in one of his parties of pleasure, and send him to Madrid; to dispatch couriers into all the provinces with necessary directions; and to disperse every where, letters from the king of Spain to all the orders of the state. These letters were ready; there were some for the king, some for the parliament, and others for the nation in general. Cardinal de Polignac, and Malezieu chancellor of Dombes, had composed them. The marquis of Pompadour had drawn up a petition, in the name of all the noblesse,

to

to invite the Spaniard into France; and cardinal Alberoni had made an unsuccessful attempt to engage the sectaries in this scheme.

The duke du Maine was ignorant of these intrigues; his wife had more successfully concealed them from him than from the duke of Orleans. The papers, of which copies were to be sent to Madrid, multiplied every day, but not one of them was yet sent: they were at length entrusted to the care of the abbé Portocarrero. The regent discovered all by means of La Fillon, a famous priestess of a temple of Venus. The ambassador's secretary had, in a billet to one of her votaries, acquainted her that he could not meet her that night, on account of some business which the departure of Portocarrero would engage him in. La Fillon carried this billet to the keeper of the seals, whose purveyor and spie she was. Some pretend that the first notice which the regent received of this plot, was sent to him from London. However that may be, orders were issued immediately for arresting the abbé. They overtook him at Poitiers: they seized his dispatches, but left his person at liberty.

The

The regent had now the whole plan of the conspiracy before him. The hôtel of Spain was invested, the ambassador arrested, and his papers seized, in which several intrigues were discovered ; some of them obscure, others clearly explained, all in opposition to the regent, none of them disadvantageous to the king. The cardinal de Rohan and de Bissy were suspected. The duke de Richelieu was convicted. The marquis de Pompadour and Saint-Genies were imprisoned in the Bastile. The count Daydie and the marquis de Magny, introducer of the ambassadors, fled into Spain. Cardinal de Polignac was banished to one of his abbeys. Malezieu and his son, the duke and dutchess du Maine, their servants and attornies, were all arrested. The dutchess du Maine was sent to Dijon, under the guard of monsieur de la Billardrie, and the duke to the citadel of Dourlans, under that of Favencour, who treated him with great cruelty. Their sons were banished to the city of Eu, their daughters confined at Chaillot.

Dec. 9
1718.

Marshal Villeroy wrote an account of what had happened to madame de Glapion superior of Saint-Cyr, and intreated her to communicate the sad news to madame de Maintenon, with all possible caution.
Madame

Madame de Glapion was in the apartment of madame de Maintenon when this letter was brought to her. Madame de Maintenon seized it, eagerly broke the seal, read the afflicting news without shewing the least emotion, and went instantly to church. As soon as she was gone, madame de Glapion took the letter, fell into a swoon when she saw its sad contents, and recovering, followed madame de Maintenon all in tears, but stopped at the entrance of her gallery, respecting her grief. Madame de Maintenon left the church with the first symptoms of a fever, which never quitted her. The duke du Maine had put the first hand to her elevation, he gave the finishing stroke to her misfortunes.

The regent, on whom nature had bestowed so many shining qualities, and whom the art of reigning had taught so many useful ones, took a generous revenge on his enemies, by the lenity with which he treated them. The ministers sought to lay their iron hands on the unfortunate and the guilty, without any distinction. The duke of Orleans softened the severities of a prison, and permitted the prisoners the melancholy amusements of reading, taking the air, and the visits of their friends. These amusements even
cruelty

cruelty itself ought not to prohibit in those state prisons, whither persons are sent upon suspicion, often the most slight and inconsiderable, and sometimes the most unjust.

The princess of Conti, being informed that her son-in-law was innocent, and that it was not possible to prove her daughter guilty, demanded that they should be brought to their trials, according to an antient law, by which our kings engage themselves to grant their people, what indeed they cannot withhold from them without tyranny ; and this is, not to keep any subject in prison beyond a certain time, without having their process made out. But the manner in which her petition was received, made her sensible that, if the laws are silent for private persons, they are not more efficacious for princes.

CHAP.

C H A P T E R VIII.

The Czar Peter at Saint-Cyr.

MADAME de Maintenon, too weak to support such complicated distresses, never afterwards enjoyed one moment of health or happiness. Madame de Caylus her niece, dreading lest she should sink under her afflictions, hastened to Saint-Cyr, and staid eight days with her. She perceived that the blow was struck. ‘I desire nothing but death,’ said madame de Maintenon to her, ‘it is my only good :’ and a moment afterwards, ‘Alas ! if we knew what God knows, our will would be the same with his.’

‘I love,’ said she, ‘sometimes those praises which the faithful give our Saviour Christ ; when filled with a holy admiration they cry out, *All his decrees are good*. In what has happened lately, we do not see the good that is to result from it, but the eye of faith may see it. The duke du Maine will know what earthly grandeur is, and from that knowledge will learn to despise it ; and
‘ the

‘ the dutchefs will perhaps lament the
‘ errors of her youth. What though the
‘ duke of Orleans be on the throne, the
‘ son of Lewis the Fourteenth in fetters,
‘ the innocent confounded with the guilty ;
‘ all is in the order of providence, all
‘ proceeds from God, all is good, and
‘ this good is always the best.’

To these christian reflections succeeded the tender anxiety of a woman, and a woman whose sensibility was carried to excess. She wished to be at Dourlans, to comfort the duke du Maine, to weep with him : when she thought of the malice of his enemies, she was depressed with sorrow ; when she reflected on that treasure of piety he had acquired through her cares, she reproached herself with her own weakness, in shedding tears for him who shed none for himself.

Then it was, that wholly disengaged from the world, she burned all those papers which might have proved her rank. ‘ It shall never,’ said she, ‘ be known what I have been to the king.’ She will perhaps be blamed for this folly of resentment, or this excess of humility ; but to a woman who was incessantly raising herself to God, what is the world’s opinion ? It is

is easy to justify her for this action ; but how can her directors be justified ?

This world, which she so sincerely despised, still respected her. The Muscovite emperor, who traversed kingdoms in search of great men, and who was himself a very extraordinary one, was desirous of seeing the woman whom Lewis the Fourteenth had loved. Madame de Maintenon sent to desire he would permit her, on account of her infirmities, to receive his visit in bed.

The community, in the habit of ceremony, received the Russian emperor at the gate of the cloister. He proceeded directly to madame de Maintenon's apartment, followed by some French noblemen and his own small train. He addressed himself to her ; the interpreter spoke less than the countenance of the prince expressed. He himself drew open the curtain of the bed, and desired that it might be also opened at the feet. He gazed on her with great attention, she blushed, and the ladies of Saint-Lewis, who saw her at that moment, said that she must still have appeared handsome to him. The Czar uttered some words of astonishment, accompanied with an action still more expressive. After he left

madame de Maintenon's apartment, he visited all the classes, appeared surpris'd to find so little beauty among so many young girls assembled together, amused himself with observing their little sports, and ordered the plan of the house to be drawn.

Some days afterwards at an assembly, madame de Caylus was pointed out to him. Being told that she was niece to madame de Maintenon, he press'd through the croud, accosted her, took her hand, looked earnestly at her, and honoured her with every distinction of Muscovite politeness.

CHAPTER IX.

The death of madame de Maintenon.

Ma. 13.
1719.

THE last hour of madame de Maintenon fast approached; her fever increased every day, accompanied with a cold, and a cough so violent, that she sometimes lost respiration. She perceived her course was finished; and said so to madame de Caylus, and to the duke and dutchess de Noailles, to whom she had sent notice of her danger.

An

An alteration was made in her chamber to secure her against the cold. ‘ You take a great deal of trouble,’ said she, ‘ for the few moments I have yet to live.’ To the duke de Noailles she said, ‘ Nothing but my death, my dear duke, can repay the obligations I owe you for the pains you have taken to retard it : but,’ added she sighing, ‘ the poor will perish of cold !’ She caused a small sum to be distributed among the poor of the village of Saint-Cyr, to buy wood ; and melting into tenderness for the little girls of the red class, she desired the superior to let her have five or six of them in her chamber, to keep them warm.

They proposed to vary her broths, because she seemed disgusted with them : ‘ Did I ever complain ?’ she replied.

She performed, as far as her illness permitted her, those exercises of piety, with which she had always filled up her days. She received the communion on Easter-day with a degree of fervour which might have lessened her regret for not performing it at church with her daughters. ‘ This will be the last,’ said she to her confessor. Long, very long she had communicated, as if each time would be the last.

Marshal Villeroi came to see her, and passed as usual two or three hours with her: she still continued to converse with him, with the same sprightly wit and easy freedom.

Apr. 4. She was believed to be much better; her pulse was regular, the physician gave hopes of her recovery, Saint-Cyr was transported with joy: she only was not mistaken. 'I am better,' said she, 'but
'I am going.'

The duke and dutchess de Noailles came again to see her, and quitted her no more. She said to madame de Glapion, 'Daughter, nothing now remains to be
'done, but to implore of God that he
'will be pleased, in compassion to my
'weak impatience, to lessen my agonies
'in the hour of death.' She seemed as much concerned for the trouble she gave the ladies of Saint-Lewis, as if she had been one of those objects of charity, whom, through compassion they received into their house: faithful to the end in the observation of its rules, she sent back madame de Caylus every night to Versailles.

Apr. 6. 'Although I am very ill,' said she to mademoiselle d'Aumale, 'good works
'must

‘ must not be neglected : let us send our
‘ pensions ; it is not just that those poor
‘ people should wait.’ This was the first
time in her life, that she did not settle her
accounts herself. She afterwards said, ‘ I
‘ am very happy, I have paid my pensions
‘ before-hand ; I shall at least still be-
‘ stow alms after my death.’

She opened her casket, and reviewed Apr. 7.
her will : and added these words to it ;
*To monsieur d'Aubigné archbishop of Rouen,
I bequeath my miniature picture of the king ;
and I desire that it may be for ever preserved
to such of my name, who will regard it with
the veneration and gratitude they so justly
owe him.* She said smiling to mademoiselle
d'Aumale, ‘ This is still wrote with a
‘ steady hand.’ She rallied a little about
the mediocrity of this will. During the
king's life, she had made one which con-
tained only these words, *I desire that ma-
demoiselle d'Aumale will carry the inclosed
list of my alms to the king, and intreat him,
in my name, to settle a pension on mademoi-
selle de Breuilhac.*

Her fever and her cough abated, but Apr. 9.
her weakness increased. To madame de
Glapon she said, ‘ I abuse your goodness,
‘ madam : how will your affairs be ma-
‘ naged ?’ M dame de Blosset brought
her a letter : ‘ I am not yet dead,’ said
Q3 she

she without opening it, ‘ but the world
‘ is dead to me.’

Ap. 14. Her fever redoubled, and was accompanied with so many symptoms of malignity, that all hope was lost. At midnight mass was celebrated in her chamber. She received the viaticum; and perceiving the priest, the physician, madame de Glapion, and mademoiselle d’Aumale, standing about her bed, ‘ Am I dying?’ said she to them. Her last moments were passed in that gentle peace which is at once the witness and the recompence of a life of innocence.

Ap. 15. She fell into a kind of lethargy, from which she could only be awakened, by speaking to her of God. They mentioned extreme unction to her; she roused herself that instant, and said she earnestly desired it. She beheld unmoved all the preparations for that sad sacrament; and said to the ladies of Saint-Lewis, who were drowned in tears, ‘ Did I never tell you ‘ that I should come to this?’ During the ceremony she made all the responses to the funeral prayers. Her confessor intreated her to give her blessing to the assembled community. ‘ I am unworthy,’ said she; he pressed her, and she obeyed.

The

The duke de Noailles, kissing her hand, asked her how she did: she replied, 'Not too well; adieu my dear duke, a few moments hence I shall go to learn many things.' Immediately she fell into her former kind of lethargy; the agonies of death followed soon afterwards: she had the air of a person who was sleeping composedly. Her countenance, said mademoiselle d'Aumale, appeared more beautiful and more respectable than ever: she expired at five o'clock in the evening.

No words can express the grief, the consternation, and dismay of the whole community of Saint-Cyr. Tears and groans first broke the melancholy silence: each one regretted that portion of happiness which was ravished from her; she was lamented as the general mother of them all. The house resounded with piercing cries: even the servants mixed their laments with those of the ladies and the children. No order was observed: the exercises were interrupted. Sometimes a profound silence shewed the excess of their affliction: sometimes deep groans gave that affliction utterance: among so great a number of persons of different ages and characters, grief wore one uniform face. If in this desolation any words escaped them, they
were

were such as expressed their regret, at not having sufficiently known the value of what they had lost : they were artless praises, transports of admiration mixed with exclamations of grief. Now with interrupting sobs they repeated her last words ; now they pressed eagerly about her bed to gaze upon her again. Death had respected her face ; her features were not changed ; she inspired veneration and love ; they prayed for the repose of her soul ; they were ready to invoke her as a saint. Happy are those, they cried, whom, in these times of cruelty and oppression, God calls to himself ! for although it would have given her great satisfaction, to behold the early virtues of a king formed by her friends ; yet it was a consolation that she escaped that dreadful future, which this stormy regency foretold.

Madame de Maintenon lived not to see war declared against the grandson of Lewis the Fourteenth, to see the libertine Dubois honoured with the purple, and banishing from the council by his presence all the great lords of the kingdom ; to see the duke du Maine obliged to owe his release to the treachery of his wife, who sacrificed all his friends ; to see the most august senate in the world awed by soldiers, and banished for refusing to concur in measures that tended

tended to overthrow the state, to see Daguesseau, after having returned from Frêne with honour, remain in Paris with shame; to see mademoiselle de Valois receive four millions for her portion, while the nation groaned under the most dreadful poverty; to see the dukes demanding to be judged by the council; a peer of the kingdom degraded by the parliament, and he not the most guilty among the peers.

John Law was yet known only by two or three edicts, but soon each day produced a new one. To possess gold or silver was a crime of state; the innocent were subjected to confiscations, the guilty rose to wealth upon their ruins: an eager thirst after gain deluded us; with our own hands we tore our entrails; a foreigner, without name, without credit, ruined the French nation at a single blow. Lewis the Fourteenth was struck with the deepest repentance, for having given some wounds to the state; the duke of Orleans deprived it of every principle of life, and laughed at his exploits.

Madame de Maintenon therefore died very seasonably; however, the tender assiduity of the duke du Maine was wanting at her expiring moments, and her eyes in their last looks, seemed to require another object.

The

The duke de Noailles, after reading her will, gave orders for the last melancholly ceremonies to be performed, for the intense grief of the ladies of Saint-Lewis prevented their attention to them. Although madame de Maintenon had desired to be interred in the church-yard belonging to the community, yet the duke caused a vault to be made in the choir of the church, in which the body, embalmed and wrapt in lead, was to be deposited.

April 17. The church was hung with black. The bishop of Chartres, attended by the general of Saint-Lazarus, with his whole order, officiated in pontifical habits; the ladies of Saint-Lewis held up the funeral pall; the young ladies carried lighted flambeaus; the chaunting was interrupted with sighs and tears; but when all that remained of madame de Maintenon disappeared from their sight, their tears flowed with more violence, as if they had lost her a second time; a funeral eulogy more glorious to her memory than that which was suppressed by the duke de Noailles. The orator had a subject on which he might have displayed all the ornaments of eloquence, but it was judged better to be silent than to speak by halves. In this the advice of that nobleman was followed, in
whom

whom Saint-Cyr has found a protector, such as madame de Maintenon had desired.

But what they would not venture to pronounce at her funeral, was engraved upon her tomb in an epitaph, written in French * by the abbé Vertot, and revised by the duke de Noailles, the only one perhaps which history does not contradict, and which is comprised in these few words :

The more we examine Frances d'Aubigné, in the several periods and different situations of her life, the less we shall doubt that she was a saint, and almost an heroine : *bonam facile crederes, magnam libenter.*

* See the collection of her letters. That I may omit nothing which relates to madame de Maintenon, I shall here observe, that the author of the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth blames her friends for affecting to omit in her epitaph the name of her first husband. The title of dame d'Autour is omitted also. The turn of the composition made it necessary. How could the name of Scaron have been joined with that of Lewis the Fourteenth ? That name indeed was not scandalous in itself; but he had made it so; and no one knows better than this author, that the most illustrious name may be dignified by great talents, and debased by vices.

The

The reader has now seen all that hitherto I have collected concerning the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, which I have done with a hope that my labour may not be unuseful to the honour of my country, if ever this striking part of our history should find an historian worthy to treat it.

Perhaps in the course of these memoirs I have entered into too many details; perhaps I have been too ardent in defending a character which in every view appeared to me beneficent and good; perhaps I have been too sincere in some places, and in others have shewn that I was misinformed; perhaps I may have displeased all my readers; but I dare affirm (for there is one whom I count as nothing) that I have sought to offend none, and to be useful to the greater part; to the wise by facts, to the triflers by reflections: I have offered them what I believed to be truth, neither heightened by partiality, nor disguised by fear. I have painted madame de Maintenon such as I have seen her in the most faithful memoirs. Alas! what is it to me whether she had virtues or faults?

End of the FIFTH VOLUME.

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